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FBIS-EEU-95-156 *14 August 1995*

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Economic Data on Former Yugoslav Republics

95BA0299A Belgrade VREME (VREME NOVCA supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 95 pp 8-9

[Article reprinted from the monthly MESECNE ANALIZE I PROGNOZE issued by the Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade: "The Economy of the New States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], much like the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], have suffered substantial losses since the disintegration of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] (there is no point in including Bosnia-Herzegovina in any analysis; widespread devastation is still taking place). The level of mutual purchases and deliveries substantially exceeded the purchases and deliveries from abroad, so the decline of mutual communications has essentially disrupted economic flows. These three newly created states, it is true, have continued their trade with one another, which to some extent has mitigated the total loss, and that is an advantage over Serbia and Montenegro. It should not be forgotten that the military operations and international encirclement have affected Slovenia least. All of this together has had the result that the gap in the social product, which existed even in the joint state, has tended to widen. Slovenia had the smallest drop at the output and thereafter growth (1993—+ 1.3 percent, 1994—more than 5 percent), so that it is now estimated to have a per capita social product (DP) of $6,000-8,000. Croatia had a decline, especially in 1991, when it was 29 percent, which is one reason the total result for the ast four years shows the largest drop of the former SFRY republics, not counting the FRY, which has had a still greater drop. The growth of 0.8 percent in the past year is not sufficient to offset the earlier shock. The DP in Macedonia has been dropping constantly since 1989, but slower than in Serbia, so that the per capita value has come even (previously there was a difference to Serbia's advantage).

Per capita DP is about $3,000 in Croatia and about $1,000 in Macedonia and the FRY, but, if assumptions about the impact of the gray economy are concluded, it might roughly be calculated that in Slovenia it is approximately $10,000 (20 percent for the gray economy), in Croatia $4,000 (30 percent from the gray economy), and in Macedonia $1,250 (25 percent from the gray economy). In the same way, we might arrive at about $1,500 for the FRY.

Industrial output has behaved similarly to the social product. In 1994, industrial production in Slovenia rose 6.4 percent, while it dropped 10.5 percent in Macedonia and 2.7 percent in Croatia. The current figures for the beginning of 1995 show an average growth of about eight index points in a seasonally adjusted series in Slovenia, while there is a decline in Macedonia and Croatia.

All three former Yugoslav republics, now states, have a negative foreign trade balance. Slovenia has a negative trade balance of over $400 million, but the total Slovene trade sector is so large that this is a level that can be supported quite easily. That is, both imports and exports range at a level of about $7 billion, and total trade over $14 billion. Slovenia has a trade surplus in consumer goods, and it has been reporting a sizable growth of exports (18.4 percent) and a drop in the importation of services (- 2.4 percent). As a consequence, in spite of the negative trade balance, it has a much better current balance of payments, and the high level of foreign exchange reserves is creating problems for the export sector of the economy because of the pressure on the exchange rate of the tolar. Finally, exports have a share of 60.4 percent in the Slovene social product. The trade deficit in Croatia amounted to $968 million in 1994, 62 percent of this covered by exports. Macedonia has a higher export-import ratio but a far smaller volume of foreign trade than Croatia (and also Slovenia, of course): Imports are slightly under $1 billion and exports slightly greater than $1.2 billion.

Inflation was characteristic of the former Yugoslavia for years, and all of the countries that have been created from it have had big problems with inflation. In that respect, the year 1994 is atypical because not only Slovenia but also Croatia and Macedonia have entered a zone of low (single-digit monthly) inflation. By comparison, inflation is last to calm down in the FRY; the rise of retail prices between February and December is zero, but with over 300 million of inflation in January and a 2,243-percent rise in prices in February, the annual prices do not show this.

Macedonia first recorded single-digit monthly inflation in February 1994. Before that, on several occasions it had low inflation, but it has mainly recorded double-digit price increases, somewhat higher during 1992 than during 1993. In Croatia, single-digit inflation appeared in November 1993, while in Slovenia prices have been stable for quite a long time (more than three years).

Current developments follow trends in 1994: Prices in Slovenia were also low in early 1995, rising about 0.8 percent on average during the first three months. The trend is similar in Macedonia, with a rise of 4.1 percent in the first four months, with an average of about 1 percent.

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1994/1993 (Percent)	Macedonia	Croatia	Slovenia
GDP	—	4.4	0.8
Industrial output	-10.5	-2.7	6.4
Unemployment (94/93)	6.3	18.0	14.1
Retail prices	121.8	-2.3	18.3
Real wages	-10.2	—	9.0
M1 money supply	239.7	190.4	42.1
Trade balance	-$260 million	-$968 million	-$441 million
Foreign exchange reserves (94)	—	$2.3 billion	$2.8 billion

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Commentary Opposes Settlement of Refugees in Kosovo

AU1108145295 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Aug 95 p 1

[Commentary by Rrustem Rugova: "Refugees as Far Away From Kosova as Possible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosova is a long-suffering and bleeding country. Some committees in Serbian communes for the reception of refugees from the war-torn regions of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in order to aggravate these wounds, have come up with the proposal of sending a number of these refugees to Kosova. Because of the possible large-scale manipulation of these unfortunate people, the problem should be raised at the highest levels of humanitarian protection organizations in order that their tragedy and that of others should not be repeated in Kosova. The international institutions, in whose hands lies the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, should have been the first to raise this problem seriously, in order not to permit this, the most serious provocation that the people of Kosova could face.

First, the people of Kosova have been increasingly provoked so far with the occupation of Kosova, which was an equal member of the former Yugoslav federation. Hundreds of young people were then massacred. School children and students were poisoned. The majority of Albanian workers were dismissed from their jobs. The Albanian primary schools, secondary schools, and the university were closed. The police have manhandled Albanian families. There has been horrific looting. Hundreds of thousands of young people have been banished from Kosova in an unprecedented exodus. What has not been endured by this people that publicly announced, by referendum, their desire and will for independence, freedom, and democracy? The people of Kosova, the majority of them Albanian, also announced their own form of struggle for independence and freedom through peaceful means and talks, accepting the rules proclaimed by the world for solving the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia. The latest provocation of the settlement of Serbian refugees in Kosova would be a misunderstanding and misuse of the peaceful policies of the Albanians' political leadership and a live coal thrown into a powder keg whose fuse is already lit.

At least in the way events are currently taking shape on the conflict-torn Balkan stage, over which the superpowers, the former rival blocs of East and West, and the other forces in command of world capital still have influence, lighting this fuse in Kosova does not mean a local war or a war between states, but a broader war, which would directly involve many states of both alliances. Let us suppose that the present strategists of the tragedy of the peoples of the area of the former Yugoslavia know this full well. But what the Serbs of Knin, Korduna, Lika, Baranje, Herzegovina, and all other areas should realize is that it is the policies of their regimes that has led them to this plight.

It is understandable that the long-suffering people of Kosova should best understand the grief and tragedy of such people. The Albanians of Kosova have shown that they have not failed the test of kindness. However, because the Kosovars are not in a position to decide this matter freely and because they have been living under the heel of the Serbian occupation regime for a long time, they will consider any arrivals here as colonists and foreign soldiers!

In this situation, therefore, it would be best for the Serbian refugees from these areas to be settled as far away from Kosova as possible.

Electricity Privatization To Begin in Sep

AU1208152895 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 11 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by Adelina Toli: "Electricity Privatization Begins"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Stockholding companies involving investors have been decided as the most appropriate way to privatize the entire Albanian electricity network. A privatization strategy has been drafted and approved that covers electricity generation, transmission, and distribution. The percentages of the stocks to be given to employees and the state when shares are distributed, besides those for investors, have been decided. The privatization of these most vital sectors of the entire Albanian economy will start at the beginning of September this year.

Following parliament's approval of the Law on Electricity Privatization on 13 July this year, the Albanian Electrical Energy Corporation completed its study for its privatization strategy.

"It has been decided," a senior Energy Ministry specialist said, "that the most appropriate way to privatize the electricity sector will be to attract the most serious and powerful foreign investors that have specialized in this sector. According to the study that has been put forward, 50-60 percent of the shares will be bought by powerful firms, 20 percent will be bought by the electricity employees themselves, and 30 percent of the shares will belong to the state. It is planned that the state will have a share in this privatization so that, through joint ownership, it may play a regulatory role."

Electricity privatization will begin with three pilot companies in the districts of Shkoder, Elbasan, and

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Vlore. These companies will operate as links in the chain of electricity transmission and distribution. The entire privatization process will be managed by the Electrical Energy Corporation, which will function through its generation and transmission centers and its distribution network. The draft plan that has been drawn up provides for the operation of 13 generation and transmission centers that will be situated at the sources of energy themselves and 35 distribution networks based at each district administrative center.

The branches of the Electricity Corporation will administer:

—10,766 km of medium-tension elevated cable

—763 km of medium-tension network cable

—32,861 km of low-tension elevated cable

—1,195 km of low-tension network cable

—5,591 transformer substations

—80 small local hydroelectric stations with an annual production of 25 million kilowatt-hours.

Energy Ministry specialists say that the privatization process will begin in September.

It is forecast that the process will be carried out gradually and without a deadline because of some technical and financial snags in this sector. The organization of the privatization tender and the attraction of powerful investors will lead to the privatization of the electricity sector being completed as fast as possible.

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Cabinet To Replace 30 Top Military Officers

AU1408103995 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 11 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

["24 CHASA" staff report: "Thirty Top Military Officers Replaced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At its meeting on 10 August, the cabinet recommended that 30 generals and colonels in the top military command be relieved or appointed to new positions. This is the biggest list of staff changes that the cabinet has asked the president to approve. No reasons were given for the mass changes in the army's top command.

Many of those affected by the changes lunched with President Zhelev in the Boyana Residence on Saturday, 5 August, when the president announced that he would not allow the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] to lay a finger on the army. The Socialist leaders responded by alleging that the president is flirting with the army like a "latter-day Brezhnev."

The changes were agreed at a meeting of the Supreme Military Council, and were proposed to the government by Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov.

The cabinet proposed the replacement of the Ground Forces commander, Lieutenant General Zakharin Georgiev; the commander of the 1st Army, Major Gen. Stefan Dervishev; and the commander of the 3d Army, Maj. Gen. Ginyo Tonev. Gen. Iliev becomes first deputy chief of the General Staff, while Gen. Tonev will take command of the Ground Troops and receive another general's star from President Zhelev. Gen. Dervishev is retiring "on health grounds," the Council of Ministers announced.

The cabinet wants Maj. Gen. Ivan Tomov and Tsanko Dolenski to take over the command of the 1st and 3d Armies respectively. New chiefs of staff are proposed in the Air Force, Navy, and the 3d Army, and the Air Force and 3d Army will also have new deputy commanders. Konstantin Bogdanov becomes deputy chief of the Naval General Staff, and Colonel Kiril Tsvetkov takes over the command of the Chemical Troops.

Col. Stefan Stefanov, who was respensible for missiles and artillery in the General Staff, and his colleague Col. Yonko Rankov, responsible for rear support services, are both released from army service. Col. Trifon Angelov, in charge of combat training in the Ground Forces Command, also goes into retirement. Col. Stoyko Petkov is replaced in the post of commander of the Interior Ministry Troops by Col. Vasil Velkov. The Border Guards are also getting a new commander; Col. Petur Vitkov is to replace Col. Georgi Dimitrov. Col. Dimitur Stoilov replaces Col. Kiril Voynov as chief of the National Fire Service.

Lt. Gen. Simeon Petkovski, chief of the economic section at the Defense Ministry, is recommended for retirement. The cabinet proposes no replacement for him. Col. Nikolay Kolev will take over the Medical Administration at the Defense Ministry.

The newly formed Army Inspectorate will have seven generals on its strength. The man proposed for chief inspector is Col. Gen. Petko Prokopiev, who previously served as first deputy chief of the General Staff. The following are respectively recommended for the posts of chief inspectors of the Ground Forces, Air Force, Navy, rear services, and the section responsible for contacts between the army and other ministries: Maj. Gen. Angel Marin, Major Gen. Stefan Popov, Rear Admiral Iliya Popov, Maj. Gen. Nikola Maksimov, and Maj. Gen. Lyubomir Dinev. Maj. Gen. Angel Angelov, who until now has been chief of staff at the Military Academy, is to become the chief of staff of the new Army Inspectorate.

A source in the top BSP leadership said that after the parliamentary vacation Col. Gen. Tsvetan Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, is also expected to be replaced.

Minister Discusses Economic Goals, Problems

AU1108200995 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 7 Aug 95 p 6

[Interview with Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov by Aleksandur Angelov; place and date not given: "Low Inflation Does Not Yet Mean That the Economy Is Fully Stabilized"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Angelov] Mr. Kostov, in Bulgaria at present things seem to be going well only in the financial field; inflation is amazingly low, and the dollar exchange rate is relatively stable. How do you explain this?

[Kostov] The low inflation and the stable exchange rate are the result of what is happening in the financial sphere and in the real economy. By and large, the policy that we have followed was aimed at achieving these goals. In the Finance Ministry, what we have managed to achieve, as compared with previous years, is that the deficit is no longer financed with loans from the Bulgarian National Bank. In this way, we have removed part of the inflationary pressure on the deficit. In the first half of this year, the deficit has in practice been totally financed by issues of government securities.

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[Angelov] Does this mean that this will continue in the future? Is it not true that so far not a year has gone by without adjustments being made to the budget?

[Kostov] For the time being, we have no reason to update the budget. I think that, by and large, the budget at the moment is controllable and is in fact being controlled.

[Angelov] In this case, to what extent have our economic problems already been overcome?

[Kostov] No, this does not mean that now everything is in order. The main problem is not only to stabilize the economy and create conditions for growth, but to ensure that all this becomes an established trend. From this viewpoint, we have not yet finished solving the problems. I believe that it is still necessary to direct our economic policy toward stabilizing the economy and achieving a balance between stabilization and restructuring. We need to reinforce the stabilization achieved so far with privatization, especially with mass privatization.

[Angelov] You recently blamed the low inflation rate for the nonfulfillment of the revenue side of the budget. Do you really regard this as an obstacle?

[Kostov] No, that was how the press assessed it, but the situation is not exactly like this. If one makes an impartial analysis of the factors that effect the level of revenues, one must consider both inflation and the exchange rate. However, one should not forget that the budget has an expenditure side as well as a revenue one. Thus, the negative effect on revenues is accompanied by a positive effect on expenditures. We are spending less money—on compensation payments, on interest payments on the debt, on maintaining the budget-financed section of the economy, and so on.

[Angelov] Is the debt not the budget's greatest enemy?

[Kostov] Let us say that it is one of the main "enemies." However, we possess a quite well developed system of public services that are financed from the budget. The process has started of rationalizing these services, but it must continue, and we must change the yardstick by which we measure them. Formerly it was believed that the more public money that is spent on financing a given public service, the greater is the quantity of this service that is offered to the public. However, it is not the money that is consumed, but the service. For this reason, we have to continue rationalizing this sector so that the same amount of money provides a greater volume of services.

[Angelov] What areas suffer most from shortage of money at the moment?

[Kostov] That is an imprecise criterion. In my view, the question is whether the money available at present is being spent sensibly. Until it is spent sensibly, it will never be sufficient for anything. I think that, generally speaking, we have seen a slight improvement in financial discipline as compared with the last two or three years. Those who are controlling their expenditures well are coping, while the rest believe they suffer from a shortage of money and blame someone else for this.

[Angelov] Has there been anything that has provided additional unexpected revenue for the budget, and given you a pleasant surprise?

[Kostov] In a word, no.

[Angelov] Work has now started on the 1996 budget. What are the main indices included in it?

[Kostov] It is too early to give concrete figures, but in any case, it is possible to achieve a further reduction in inflation. From an objective viewpoint, the 30-percent inflation that we expect for 1995 does not indicate complete stabilization of the economy. Our goal of achieving a growth of real incomes cannot be achieved solely on the basis of restricting and halting inflation.

[Angelov] Does the new budget represent any turn in a new direction, what are its new goals? So far, the main problem has been to make ends meet. Will this remain true?

[Kostov] Bulgaria has faced the problem of making ends meet for the last 15 years at least. The levels of the country's domestic and foreign debts are such that we have to follow a rather parsimonious budget policy to escape from this situation. We want to draw closer to Europe, but the goal that the West Europeans are setting is to ensure that the proportion of a country's national debt to its GDP is about 60 percent. In Bulgaria's case, at the end of 1994 this figure was 157 percent! This is a very heavy burden for any economy, and it means huge interests payments, and ensuring that expenditures are made in such a way as not to generate a new wave of inflation.

[Angelov] You recently expressed the idea of putting the unprofitable companies that are accumulating the greatest losses into liquidation. Your idea is not shared by the majority, so do you expect it to succeed?

[Kostov] This is an objective necessity. There is absolutely no question of continuing to write off loans as a way of assisting enterprises in difficulties. Look, in the last three years, the losses made by enterprises in thepublic sector amount to 102.5 billion leva [Lv]! This

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is almost equal to last year's national budget. These losses are covered by new credits and by delaying payments to suppliers, employees, and to the budget. At the end of 1994, the rescheduled payments owed to the budget amounted to about Lv60 billion. There are 90 to 100 enterprises that cannot even cover their direct material costs from their income. In all, over 40 percent of all enterprises in the public sector fail to earn enough to cover all their costs. These enterprises are also dragging down the rest of the companies that are operating well. This problem compels us to do something with these companies.

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Communists Want Revival of Czechoslovak Statehood

AU1108192895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Aug 95 p 3

[Unattributed report in the "From the Political Scene" column: "Friendship Between the Czech and Slovak Communists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The fundamental draft election program of the Party of Czechoslovak Communists (SCK), whose secretary general is Miroslav Stepan, includes the return of the Czech Republic to a socialist orientation and the recovery of its independence in matters of international relations, the Army, and security.

Furthermore, the program demands the revival of Czechoslovak statehood. In this context, Miroslav Stepan briefed reporters on a meeting between the top party brass and the Communist Party of Slovakia. The two parties should cooperate in a joint committee that would also initiate the option of an eventual renewal of Czech-Slovak mutuality, he said. The SCK recommended to the Communist Party of Slovakia that the Slovak subscribers of the newspaper NASE PRAVDA should peruse the forthcoming new newspaper PROTI [Against], the publication of which the SCK supports.

New Political Party: 'Patriotic Republican Party'

LD1108165995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Summary From Poor Reception] A new republican party, the so-called Patriotic Republican Party [Vlastenecka Republikanska Strana—VRS], has been formed in the Czech Republic.

The main aim of the VRS is said to be the promotion of republican ideas without Miroslav Sladek, the chairman of the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia [SPR-RSC].

The VRS involves mostly former SPR-RSC members and members of the National Democratic Union.

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President Kovac Discusses U.S. Comments

AU1108150495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Aug 95 pp 1-2

["Exclusive" telephone interview from Los Angeles with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Ivan Samel and Jan Fule in Bratislava on 9 August: "M. Kovac: If We Perceived Friendly Comments as Interference in Internal Affairs, It Would Turn Everything Upside Down"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Los Angeles—The information provided by the president of the Republic on his meeting with U.S. political representatives produced a landslide of reactions, and not only on the part of party officials—the Slovak Foreign Ministry also became involved, and the U.S. Embassy also received a note. Slovak President Michal Kovac granted NARODNA OBRODA an exclusive telephone interview directly from Los Angeles.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. President, could you elaborate on the talks with U.S. Vice President Al Gore?

[Kovac] I consider the talks per se to be a very positive act in relations with the Slovak Republic. After two receptions by the President, it was my third reception at the White House. The conversation was very matter-of-fact, correct, and carried out in a spirit of friendship for the Slovak Republic and interest in its policies. Al Gore observed that Slovakia has made great progress in building democracy and implementing economic reforms. He said they are following our endeavors to integrate into the EU and NATO with great interest. He noted that the cooperation under the Partnership for Peace program is developing well. He also pointed out the need to pay greater attention to the building of democracy and a state governed by a rule of law. He noted with satisfaction and anticipation that he is acquainted with the pronouncement made by the prime minister that the Slovak-Hungarian treaty would be ratified by our parliament before the end of the year. I confirmed this expectation.

Al Gore asserted that the United States attributes great importance to good relations between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary, emphasizing the ratification of the treaty. Regarding our domestic political situation, he said the United States will continue to support everything that involves the reinforcement of democracy and economic reforms. He observed that the United States does not and will not interfere in the internal affairs of the Slovak Republic, but it is, of course, interested in the process of democratization, which is an important condition for joining both NATO and the EU.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The U.S. officials stated clearly that they do not intend to interfere in our internal affairs. So, what effect do the talks have on our domestic political development?

[Kovac] We must differentiate between two things: Not interfering in the internal affairs is one issue; another issue altogether is their observations and comments regarding our domestic political problems, which they believe can hamper our integration endeavors. I accepted all comments voiced during the working lunch—and they cannot be perceived any other way—not as interference but rather as a sincere attempt to point out the things that the U.S. Administration takes account of, and that, they believe, the statesmen and politicians of the EU member states would also note.

If we perceived friendly comments as interference in our internal affairs, it would turn everything upside down. After all, we are endeavoring to integrate into certain structures and, of course the future partner has his ideas as to which states, with what regimes, and what domestic policies can integrate into these structures.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What steps do you consider possible to stop the dissemination on the U.S. political scene of the opinion that the Slovak Republic is falling behind?

[Kovac] We must reflect on certain phenomena in our country that bring about such friendly comments, and adjust our domestic policy.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The Slovak Foreign Ministry assumed a rather caustic stand regarding your statement and the opinion of the U.S. politicians. What do you think about this step of Slovak diplomacy?

[Kovac] I believe we must be prepared to listen to the opinions of the other side, even if they are critical in some instances, because the other side also refers to positive phenomena. If we were to bury our head in the sand and not want to hear any more, or if we were to respond with notes, we would not change the views of our partners, who are preparing the position of their supreme representatives. Critical comments certainly do not mean a hostile attitude to the Slovak Republic, but rather the contrary. It is an attempt to help us avoid separating ourselves from the first wave of the countries to be integrated into the EU. Any irritated reactions do not improve our relations.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Are you convinced that the interview for Slovak Radio was well timed? Would it not have been better to talk with the representatives of political forces first, and only then provide information to the public?

[Kovac] What is and what is not right is questionable. I gave that interview immediately after the talks. I

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considered it necessary for the information to reach the citizens, because the information was not just intended for me. It is possible that, if I provided it only on my return, questions might have been raised on the U.S. side as to why it was voiced with a week's delay.

[NARODNA OBRODA] On the Pressklub [TV program], Vladimir Meciar announced that, prior to the visit to the United States, he spoke with you for several hours in the presence of another person. In the course of this conversation, you agreed on a cease-fire. Was it just an accident?

[Kovac] That conversation took place. At this time, I do not consider it necessary to name the third party. I am not aware of having personally attacked Meciar either in the interview for Slovak Radio or earlier. Rather, I believe that what he said in Pressklub was a personal attack against myself. Nevertheless, I am not going to respond, because I feel that we both will have to exert maximum efforts to prevent a further increase in tension because that harms, above all, the interests of Slovakia. It does not mean, however, that the president will keep quiet about the critical comments, nor even that he will not present his own opinion. I do not consider holding a different opinion to be a hostile act against a person with a different view.

[NARODNA OBRODA] One could say that the conflict between you and the government coalition has comee to a head. How do you imagine it will be resolved?

[Kovac] I am not starting any conflicts, so you can hardly expect a solution from me, for it is not in my hands. My duty is to execute the office of the president of the republic responsibly, and I see that as my contribution to the solution. Hence, I will do nothing but endeavor to fulfill my presidential duties responsibly.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The Slovak prime minister allegedly could not sleep on the night after the talks with Zbigniew Brzezinski. How did you sleep?

[Kovac] I slept very well.

Kovac's Spokesman Explains

AU1108153295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Rado Stevcik: "The President's Spokesman Explains"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"What the representatives of the U.S. Administration said to President Michal Kovac, they said and will also say to other representatives of the Slovak Republic," Vladimir Stefko, the Slovak president's spokesman, emphasized following his arrival from the United States yesterday. According to Stefko, U.S. officials have spoken like this to representatives of both the opposition and the coalition.

The president's spokesman was reacting to the atmosphere created in Slovakia by the interview the president gave to Radiozurnal after his working lunch with three U.S. officials. "The U.S. Administration emphasized that it has no intention of interfering in our internal affairs. It monitors developments in Slovakia, it has its own view on them, and reserves the right to express it to the representatives of all sectors of the Slovak political scene," said Stefko. According to him, these were not the official views of the U.S. Government, but the views of highly placed experts in the U.S. Administration. According to Stefko, at no meeting in the United States did the president complain about the Slovak prime minister or parliament, let alone his own country as certain circles in Slovakia are trying to maintain.

The report on the course of the lunch prepared by the Slovak ambassador in Washington is, according to the spokesman, realistic, concise, and contains the basic ideas put forward. The publication of this internal document is not, however, normal and he considers it to be expedient. "The conversation did not begin with questions about Slovakia, but about Zagreb's offensive in the Krajina region," Stefko pointed out. The discussion turned to Slovakia during lunch at the instigation of the U.S. representatives.

The spokesman rejected the claim that the president did not defend Slovakia's interests as befits the head of state. "He could not refute arguments and facts that the U.S. side has a good command of. He defended Slovakia quite energetically," he said. U.S. Vice President Al Gore even said that he was glad to hear equally positive reports about Slovakia from the president as he had heard from Prime Minister Meciar. None of the U.S. officials said that the U.S. Administration, Congress, or Senate would like to alter U.S. policy toward Slovakia. In this, too, there is, according to the spokesman, a fundamental difference between the statements made by the president and the representatives of the Hungarian Coalition. According to Stefko, the Americans emphasized repeatedly that the U.S. Administration is not preparing any energetic measures to defend democracy in our country as Laszlo Nagy has said.

According to the spokesman, nothing was said at any of the meetings attended by Kovac in the United States that could in any way demean or belittle Slovakia. At the same time, he confirmed that the Americans had expressed concern that Slovakia is beginning to lag behind in its understanding of democracy and in

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democratic reforms. According to Stefko, they also expressed the view that, in 1992 and 1993, the western world even perceived Slovakia as a normal element of the Visegrad Group and as an absolutely equal partner. "Now, they are concerned that it is not altogether like this," said the president's spokesman. Most of the officials whom the president met at the working lunch have been to Slovakia, and the Slovak prime minister has also met them. According to the spokesman, the president probably decided to make his talks public because he considers the views of the U.S. experts to be so interesting and stimulating that the Slovak public should also know about them.

Ambassador's Account of Lunch

AU1108142095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 10 Aug 95 p 5

["Detailed report" submitted by Branislav Lichardus, Slovak ambassador to the United States, to the Slovak Foreign Ministry in Bratislava on 8 August: "The President's Private Lunch According to B. Lichardus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A detailed report on the course of the discussion at a private lunch held by the Slovak president on 7 August 1995 for representatives from the White House, the U.S. State Department, and the U.S. Defense Department:

In addition to the preliminary report that was sent to the Slovak Foreign Ministry at about 0150 on 8 August (and resent at about 0943), I am adding a report on the course of the private lunch held by the Slovak president for D. Fried (adviser to the President on national security), J. Kornblum (adviser to the secretary of state), and J. Kruzel (adviser to the secretary of defense). The president's wife, P. Demes, V. Stefko, the Slovak ambassador and his wife, and interpreter J. Periakyova were present on the Slovak side.

Regarding the current political situation in the Slovak Republic, President Kovac said there are three main reasons for the internal political tension: the relationship between the president and the prime minister, the relationship between the president and the coalition majority in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], and the coalition's attitude toward the opposition. The problems arising between the government and the trade unions, the government and community administrations, and the government and the universities also have to be resolved. The president sees the causes of the tension in the differing views on how the democratic system should function. In his opinion, the coalition simplifies the issue along the lines that whoever wins the elections is given an opportunity to proceed regardless of the opposition's views. This was manifested in particular at the NR SR session during the night of 3 to 4 November 1994. The president is, however, optimistic, and is of the opinion that by gradually resolving the problems on the domestic political scene, citizens will become politically more aware and will conceive their own ideas about a functioning democracy.

The U.S. guests said that the democratic world is paying attention to Slovakia and is interested in ensuring that Slovakia does not lag behind in building democracy, since it faces the risk of political isolation (Kruzel, Fried). The United States will continue to support the current democratically elected government if it guides Slovakia toward de-etatism and towards curbing the political application of manifestations of extreme nationalism, and if it guarantees the public an uninterrupted flow of unbiased information (Fried). Democracy is not only defined by free elections but also by the subsequent activity of the government and the parliament, which should adopt laws in harmony with the Constitution, leading Slovakia unequivocally toward democracy, the free market, and the free flow of information. A functioning system for the independent supervision of administration and the functioning of independent courts are also important (Kornblum, Fried).

Kornblum also said that, in his opinion, Slovakia is already on the road toward political isolation, because it is repeatedly left out in references to the Visegrad Four countries. He also said that Europe is starting to ignore Slovakia, because it is not keeping up with the other Central European states in making progress. He recommends that President Kovac not conceal this fact from the public at home. Fried added that, in the legislation planned in connection with NATO expansio, there is a tendency at the Senate level to take into consideration the concerns about the further development of democracy in Slovakia in accordance with the information obtained by A. Smith during her recent visit to Slovakia. He also stated that if privatization comes to an end in Slovakia, the United States will cease to support Slovakia.

The president said that privatization is not coming to an end in Slovakia; it is just that a different method is being employed at the moment.

In conclusion, J. Kruzel said with satisfaction that the political problems have not affected the Slovak Army to the extent that it cannot continue to fulfill its obligations arising from the Partnership for Peace project.

After lunch, the U.S. guests congratulated the president on the award of the annual ABA CEELI [American Bar Association, Central and East European Legal Initiative] prize. They expressed their admiration for the efforts he has made heretofore with a view to building

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a democratic and legal state. The president will be received by Vice President Al Gore at 1500 local time on 8 August, and at 1700 he will fly to Los Angeles on a private visit to L. Danihels, president of the World Congress of Slovaks.

(Signed) Branislav Lichardus.

Daily Responds to U.S. Concerns

AU1108151895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Aug 95 p 3

[Commentary by Miroslav Sasky: "Are the Americans Alarmed Again?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The reverberations from the president's statements, in which he condemned the remarks made by the Hungarian Coalition's representatives, have hardly died down and already we are learning from his own lips that the United States is alarmed by developments in Slovakia. No, we are not at risk from what L. Nagy threatened. Big America will not interfere in Slovakia's internal state affairs. After all, as its representatives and even B. Clinton himself claim, it apparently never aspired to the role of "global policeman." Why should they install order in Slovakia when the most senior U.S. state representatives maintain that they support Slovakia, its government, and the trend it has embarked upon? M. Kovac, however, is claiming something else.

Perhaps the attitude of President Clinton has changed? Has the opinion of the other state officials changed? Why so suddenly? Perhaps they have just not received new 100-percent-guaranteed reports about developments in the Slovak Republic? If they have, it would be interesting to know who provided such information that caused alarm. It is worth noting, however, what they are alarmed about in the United States. Apparently, the authoritarian style of government, the police investigation of the sheets of the Democratic Union [DU], the influencing of the mass media, nationalism, and so on, and on... All known issues. And, the workshop from which such constructions appear is also known. According to Kovac, the view has begun to prevail in the United States that Slovakia is no longer in step with Poland and Hungary in issues of democracy and reform. But this has been known for some time. That is: We are ahead of them.

What has the Slovak president done, however, to dispel these terrible concerns that have afflicted the United States? He sat, listened, and nodded his care-worn stately head wisely. He did not explain, for example, that the DU's sheets are under "police" investigation because there is more than a justifiable suspicion (in several cases, it no longer just involves suspicion) that they were forged. He did not bother, as with the letter from W. Orme, to refute the rumors about a threat to the freedom of the dissemination of information, and he did not consider it at all necessary to reject the allegations of nationalism. Maybe, however, this was not necessary. Maybe, everything is quite different.

What if the Americans are alarmed by the fact that the Slovaks, unlike the Hungarians, Poles, or Czechs, wash their dirty linen in public, and that those who do not succeed in the elections do not hesitate to "spread alarm" abroad because they did not manage to get into power? Do they reject the authoritarian style of government of those for whom, just yesterday, they were expressing public support? Or does it alarm them that they do not have sufficient authority? Are their concerns about the police investigation of the DU's petition sheets not motivated more by the fact that the preelection game was not clean, or, conceivably, that the investigation has not been completed yet? Maybe it is hard to imagine that such a fraud would be dealt with by anyone other than the police in the United States. The difference is mainly that, in the United States, those politicians who publicly condone such a method of political campaigning would not be politicians for long. And nationalism? Let us try to compare U.S. or Hungarian nationalism with Slovak nationalism, and we discover very quickly that what we Slovaks lack most is more robust nationalism.

It is a waste of time expressing an opinion on the political influencing of the mass media. We know how radio and television looked under the current opposition's government. When the present government implements similar practices, all of a sudden it is bad. What was white yesterday is black today. To say that if it were not for SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, we would be, as far as the press is concerned, where we were before 1989 (it was enough to buy just one paper and, without reading the others, we were apprised of the only correct view) is equally pointless, as is reacting to the claims that it was calmer on the political scene under the current opposition's government. Everyone (even those who do not admit it) knows why. At that time, the opposition did not attack every little thing and did not go whining abroad. If this were also the case now, the concerns about the fate of democracy in Slovakia would not be tormenting anyone. Will our chronic "sneaks" finally realize this?

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Government Passes Civilian National Service Bill

AU1108193395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Aug 95 p 2

[Article by Pavol Vitko: "They Want the Civilian Service To Become Tougher"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We have 23,000 young men today who refused regular military service," Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek observed three months ago. (The Army of the Slovak Republic is approximately 45,000 men strong—ed. note) He added that the government must quickly adopt some legal measures in this respect because "if this continues, there will be no one to draft."

Yesterday, the government discussed and approved the National Council of the Slovak Republic bill on civilian service. According to this bill, the civilian service will no longer be carried out under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and Family, but of the Ministry of Defense. It can be observed that the "social affairs" sector has been unable to cope with the impact of the "civilians" for some time now. After all, by this time, it has not been able to secure work for 9,500 adepts of civilian service.

Since the regime of the civilian service will be arranged by the Defense Ministry, those who opted for civilian service might expect that although they will not exercise in uniform and with weapons, they will execute auxiliary physical labor in the barracks, dressed in civilian clothes—only it will be not for 18 but for 24 months! The objective of the proposed bill is to make the civilian service advantageous only for those citizens who have the religious or moral reasons accepted by the Constitution for refusing military service.

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Keleti Discusses Measures To Defend Border

LD1308090995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Transiated Excerpt] Last week the Balkan war almost turned from a local conflict into an extensive war with several sides. [passage omitted] Due to the situation that evolved at the southern border, the Hungarian Government strengthened border defenses and heightened the Air Force's readiness. Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti gave the following interview to Peter Obersovszky yesterday:

[Begin recording] [Keleti] The monitoring and defense of the airspace have been tightened. It does not mean a significant departure from the average conditions. It only means that we should expect possible fighting in the vicinity of the border and the Hungarian Army has to prepare itself in the interests of the country's safety.

I consider it very important to stress that the Border Guard has carried out its job properly and it will continue to do so. There is a very strong relationship between the Border Guard and the Army.

[Obersovszky] It has already come up at the time of the first Croatian-Serbian war that some units might get to Hungarian territories or shoot across the border. Aircraft might enter the Hungarian airspace. Do the increased readiness and tightened guarding of the border mean that you are preparing for these eventualities?

[Keleti] We are preparing ourselves for a number of eventualities. Since there have been no concrete developments in the region regarding the military activity a lot of things can be imagined. I consider the endangering of Hungary's state border or airspace only an extreme possibility. [passage omitted]

There will be no movement or redeployment of troops under the new measures by the Hungarian Army. The state of readiness will not normally change and the order of training for peace conditions will not be modified either.

[Obersovszky] Does the large concentration of Serb and Croat forces by the common border mean that there will be an armed conflict in east Slavonia in the forthcoming days or the near future? Is the Hungarian Army preparing itself for it?

[Keleti] I have kept saying that until the fighting moves near the border it does not pose a direct danger. From the viewpoint of the country's safety, however, it cannot be ignored that the chances of an armed conflict have increased in the immediate vicinity of the southern border, which can be deducted from the statements of politicians and soldiers at the scene. I am not saying that anything is going to happen here, but I think that the task of the Hungarian Republic's Armed Forces is to prepare themselves for this. I think it is natural that they should inform the public about it in a suitable way. [end recording]

Kovacs on Danger of Conflict

LD1308180595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government issued a statement on Saturday [12 August] in connection with the Yugoslav crisis, which said that the increased danger of armed conflict in the immediate vicinity of the southern border could not be disregarded from the viewpoint of the country's security. In spite of this, there has been no movement of troops in Hungary, and the state of preparedness is also unchanged.

A press briefing was held at which the ministers of foreign affairs and defense, and the state secretary for the interior, analyzed the situation. It ended a few minutes ago. Judit Laszlo is on the line.

[Laszlo] The Yugoslav crisis, which is now into its fifth year, could proliferate any time, and there could be another refugee wave at any time which could endanger the region, as well as Hungary, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said. He pointed out that the conflict could be settled, in spite of several years of failure. The international organizations, in any case, have been unable to resolve the situation for five years.

The Hungarian Government condemns the ethnic cleansing, the violation of human rights, the atrocities befalling the UN peacekeeping forces and the civilian population, he said.

Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti reiterated what had already been said on Hungarian radio—that the danger of armed clashes had increased at the southern border of the Republic of Hungary, and therefore there was no harm in the Hungarian Government exercising increased caution. This meant primarily a strengthening of the border guard and protecting the air space. Hungary would do its utmost to prevent any violation of the country's air space and any incursions by Croatian or Serbian aircraft.

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In reply to a question, Foreign Minister Kovacs said that the current Yugoslav armed conflict was one of the most dangerous for Hungary in recent times.

Official on Border Measures

LD1308202995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 13 Aug 95

[Studio interview with Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by unidentified moderator; From the "The Week" program—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our guest on "The Week" is Ferenc Somogyi, State Secretary In The Ministry Of Foreign Affairs. Mr. State Secretary, according to an announcement today, this is the most dangerous moment for Hungary in the history of the Yugoslav crisis, and people along the southern parts of the border are increasingly on the lookout. What does this mean? Is there a state of alert, or not?

[Somogyi] There is no state of alert in the conventional, strict meaning of the word. What has happened is that since there have been alarming signs of troop movements from the region, everyone is obliged to pay very close attention to these events and to take the steps which might become necessary if the situation becomes serious.

Therefore, the announcement now had one sole function, and we should like the public to be aware of this: that each person should do his job and take the steps—at the moment within the framework of the normal system—which would enable us not to be taken by surprise if things get worse.

[Moderator] This obviously is intended for the Croatians and the Serbians, too. Prime Minister Gyula Horn said in Helsinki that Budapest would be pleased to hold a peace conference on Yugoslavia. Then President Yeltsin, when holding talks with Milosevic in the Kremlin, came forth with something similar, except that the venue would be Moscow; and most recently, German Foreign Minister Kinkel proposed Bonn and a meeting of eight, which would be attended by the five big powers and the three warring sides. What has happened with our proposal, concerning Budapest?

[Somogyi] I might add that the Americans are also preparing an initiative. Our proposal was made before the Croatian military action. Those mentioned by you were made afterwards. The objective of all of them is to try to bring the warring sides back to the negotiating table. Our conviction—and the international community has the same view—is that only by political means can there be a lasting, comprehensive solution. This can have several forms. The coming days will decide which of the proposed versions is considered most practicable by the international community, which version can hopefully start a process that brings a settlement closer.

[Moderator] So this means Hungary, Budapest, has not abandoned the possibility of a Yugoslav summit, it has not abandoned the possibility of holding talks here. Is there any foreign political, diplomatic lobbying going on? This too must be won on the market.

[Somogyi] We naturally have not abandoned it. Preparations are under way. On Monday, we gave detailed information on the objectives of the planned conference, on the participants and the topics. We are constantly in touch with those directly affected by and concerned with the crisis, so that a solution, a structure takes shape which is acceptable to all sides.

[Moderator] Hungary must become more active in connection with holding the Yugoslav peace conference, obviously, because according to an American proposal that was aired by a writer in LE MONDE, the United States would turn a blind eye if the Muslim countries were to send ground troops to assist the Bosniaks—of course, if the Serbs did not accept the conditions of [word indistinct].

[Somogyi] There are various suppositions—these turn out later in part to be justified and in part to be groundless. In any case, our position is that since military action contains the danger of escalating the war and since a lasting solution is possible only by peaceful means, at the negotiating table, each event or development which increases military confrontation also makes a solution more remote—and for this reason, we are keeping an eye on the situation.

[Moderator] Mr. State Secretary, thank you for replying to our questions.

FKGP Head Predicts Horn Will Replace Goncz

LD1208180595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The chairman of the Smallholders' Party [FKGP] claims he is rarely wrong in his predictions. Well, in the light of this, I commend to your attention Andras Takacs's next report, from which it emerges that, according to Jozsef Torgyan, there will be a change of president of the republic next year.

[Takacs] Prime Minister Gyula Horn will be president of the republic in 1996, said FKGP Chairman Jozsef Torgyan at his news conference today. The party chairman said that Arpad Goncz will resign because the president of the republic will have to be screened by

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31 December 1996. According to Torgyan, Goncz will resign. [passage omitted]

Jozsef Torgyan said in reply to a journalists's question that the FKGP already knows who will be Prime Minister Horn's deputy. The party chairman is putting his money on Sandor Nagy. He said that the reason why the MsZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], which is in a state of collapse, would like to have Nagy as deputy prime minister is because he will be able to prevent people from going onto the streets.

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Izetbegovic Comments on Victories Against Serbs

MM1108142895 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

[Article by Nur-al-Din Salih: "Izetbegovic Tells AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT During His First Visit To Bihac: Bosnian-Croatian Victory Destroyed Greater Serbia Dream"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bihac (Bosnia)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has expressed his happiness at the victories achieved by the Croatian and Bosnian Armies against the Serbs recently. In a statement to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT during his first visit to Bihac after the breaking of the 1,200-day Serb siege, he said that the Bosnian and Croatian people are capable of joint defense against a common enemy.

Izetbegovic added that "I am very happy with the victory achieved jointly by the Bosnian and Croatian Armies in the Bihac enclave. They have destroyed the Serb dream of linking the Bosnian Serbs with the Krajina Serbs to establish a greater Serbia." He went on to say: "Suffering on the scale of the Bosnian people's suffering in Bihac during the siege has rarely been recorded in any war. The Serbs used food and medicine as a weapon to force the Bosnian Army to surrender, but they failed."

On cooperation between Bosnia and Croatia Izetbegovic said that the Split agreement between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia has confirmed that the Bosnian and Croatian people can live in peace and exercise joint defense against a common enemy.

On the influx of Croatian Serbs into Bosnia-Herzegovina the Bosnian president said that "we urge the United Nations, which supervised the evacuation of these people, to disarm them first and to prevent them from entering Bosnia. Because their arrival in Bosnia would change Bosnia's demography. This is in addition to the possibility that they might join the fighting against the Bosnian Army. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman told them to stay and issued a general amnesty. But (Bosnian Serb leader) Karadzic even now does not believe that a greater Serbia is now something of the past. This is why he is inciting Croatian Serbs to live in Bosnia, set up a new army from among themselves, and deploy it on the battlefronts."

On Fikrat Abidzic, the rebel Muslim leader who allied with the Serbs in Bihac, Izetbegovic said that he (Abidzic) "will stand trial on charges of high treason. I think he is hiding in Belgrade after fleeing with a number of his supporters. As for the other soldiers whom Abidzic and Krajina Serbs forced to fight the Bosnian Army, they have now joined the forces of the Bosnian 5th Division and are currently fighting alongside them against the common enemy. The town of Velika Kladusa is now under the Bosnian Army's control."

On the disagreements between him and Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Izetbegovic said: There is no disagreement, and it was Silajdzic's personal wish to resign from his post as prime minister. The Bosnian parliament has asked him to withdraw his resignation. [passage omitted]

Discusses U.S. Initiative

LD1308180495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today had a phone conversation with U.S. Vice President Al Gore. The topic of their conversation was the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the latest U.S. initiative for the resolution of the war in our country and Croatia.

Al Gore told President Izetbegovic that high-ranking officials of the State Department should soon arrive in Sarajevo to brief the Bosnian side on the content of this initiative. In his conversation with President Izetbegovic, Al Gore, who has already spoken to President Tudjman of Croatia and President Milosevic of Serbia, confirmed that the U.S. initiative is based on the preservance of sovereignty and integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that its objective is to restore a fair and permanent peace on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

President Izetbegovic confirmed Bosnia-Herzegovina's commitment to peace. The two sides agreed that no peace solution can be achieved to the detriment of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The U.S. stance is that the time is favorable for the implementation of a peace plan and that one should refrain from military activities in order to make use of this favorable climate.

Sacirbegovic, William Perry Review Peace Plans

LD1308204195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic discussed the latest peace plan by phone with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry today. He informed our minister about the details of the new Washington peace initiative, stressing possible consequences if the Serbs did not accept the new peace plan or if they accept it but do not implement it. The two diplomats agreed that there was a need for the resumption of the current dynamism of diplomatic activities in order to preserve the current status of the peace process. Within the context of peace efforts,

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Minister Sacirbegovic had a lengthy phone conversation with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. They discussed the two states' standpoints on the American peace initiative and further steps regarding German participation in reconstruction and aid programs for the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Silajdzic on Arms Embargo, Reports of U.S. Fund

AU1108174895 Paris AFP in English 1730 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 11 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, who has led the charge against an international arms embargo against the ex-Yugoslavia, called a vetoed plan to scrap an arms embargo "normal and moral" Friday.

"We think that the arms embargo is illegal," he said in a press conference shortly after he agreed to withdraw his resignation.

Ending the arms embargo, Silajdzic said, "is normal and is moral and is the right thing to do."

The embargo, imposed in hopes of stemming the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, has rebounded to the benefit of the Bosnian Serbs, who are backed by Belgrade.

But Silajdzic said he supported a plan in the U.S. Senate to create a fund to defend Bosnia.

"That's the real thing," he said. "By creating a multilateral fund for the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the U.S. Senate is in a way correcting the mistake of the international community, the mistake of imposing the illegal arms embargo on Bosnia."

He was also asked about reports that the United States was considering backing a deal in which Bosnian Serbs controlling 70 percent of Bosnia would confederate with Serbia in exchange for recognition of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Under the plan, which was reported by the WASHINGTON POST, the Croat-Moslem confederation in Bosnia would confederate with Croatia.

"I don't have the details and think that they are not close to completion," Silajdzic said, while indicating an interest in working with Croatia, despite fears by some analysts that Zagreb is also eyeing portions of Bosnia.

But the prime minister seemed more interested in countering Belgrade's apparent desire to reform as much of the former Yugoslavia as possible under its control. "The Greater Serbia project is still there," he said.

Comments on Peace Talks

LD1108215895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, held a news conference for domestic and foreign correspondents today. Here is a report by Mladen Bosnjak:

[Begin recording] [Bosnjak] The first question referred to the latest peace initiatives that are being created almost simultaneously in the West and the East; in Washington, whose prominent delegation is seeking support from western European allies, and in Moscow, which is advocating a new, international conference at the highest level.

[Silajdzic] I really must say that I possess few details about that. I said that what is involved is some 51 and 49 percent. You see, to be honest, I do not know what they are discussing and with whom. As far as I know, there is no firm basis or any final conclusions. All these are proposals and negotiating, but it all boils down to one thing: The international community is incapable—or these five countries seem to lack the political will—of sticking with the Contact Group plan in the way they promised a year ago. Therefore, they will now find themselves in a very difficult situation because they abandoned their plan. Now they have to negotiate and possibly sign a new plan with war criminals. This is the first time in modern history that the international community has held talks, negotiates, and concludes a plan with people who are war criminals. It is negotiating with them and at the same time trying them in the Hague. This has never happened before.

As you know, new mass graves have been discovered around Srebrenica. This is a new massacre within the Bosnian genocide perpetrated by Serb terrorists, so there is no doubt that, as I just told you in English, the international community will hold talks, for instance about the Srebrenica territory, with the people who have not just ethnically cleansed, but ethnically buried Srebrenica.

Regarding the (?three-day) meeting, no decision has been made about that, and one has to sit down and talk about it. It depends on what is on offer and what will happen at that meeting. If the meeting is held for the sake of holding a meeting, we have had enough of that. The same goes for the London conference, I mean, this new conference, which could have the same fate as the one in London two years ago, which was, as you know, held at the highest level, with the participation of the United Nations and the EU, but not a single of

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its conclusions has been implemented. Therefore, what is important is not the level but, if you want, the level of political will to do something.

[Bosnjak] The United Nations and its specialized organization of the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] are opening the airport in Banja Luka, while the airports in Sarajevo and Tuzla are still closed down. This assertion, voiced by BH PRESS correspondents, was commented on by Dr. Silajdzic as follows:

[Silajdzic] The UNHCR is part of the United Nations and the international community. The international community did not act according to international laws on international borders. This is the basic problem. Seeing things from the formal and legal angle, the Belgrade regime has violated basic international law, and these are international borders, and from the formal and legal point of view, this is the basic problem. They are not respecting international borders. Everything begun from that. Thus, in 1992, we had the situation of part of the former Yugoslav People's Army having entered Bosnia. Now we have the refugees entering Bosnia, Serb soldiers, Serb terrorists entering Bosnia from Croatia. These are situations where the international community should solve the cause and not the consequences.

Everything else is merely the consequence, what the UNHCR is doing. The basic cause is the failure to respect the international legal order, and the basis of the international legal order are international borders. What the UNHCR is doing now, and what it has done very often and well, but also, on the other hand, sometimes failing to do, is the consequence of all this. We are dealing with consequences all the time in Bosnia. The basic problem is that the international community long ago decided to keep the so-called Bosnian conflict within Bosnia and not to solve it.

[Bosnjak] In reply to the question by the correspondents of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Television on whether our country is closer to peace after the liberation of Bihac Krajina and the territory of the former and self-styled Serb Krajina—the latter having been done by the Croatian Army—Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said the following:

[Silajdzic] That what happened in Krajina and Bihac is a step, a big step toward peace. It is possible that the Belgrade regime will finally understand that the policy of force and blackmail does not lead anywhere, and that force does not have to necessarily be in one hand alone, that a stick has two ends, and he who lives by the sword will die by the sword.

Regarding Krajina, I did not have much opportunity to say that I am partly from Krajina myself. I will say to my Krajina people something that they often say: Praise your mother's milk.

[Bosnjak] We shall now briefly recount the prime minister's answers to several more questions: The conditions for the return of refugees have been created in the Bihac region and the return of a large number of civilians to this region from western European countries may be accompanied by some minor administrative difficulties in the Republic of Croatia. If there is a new international conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina, similar to the one in London, our country will insist upon the participation of strong Islamic countries. The U.S. multilateral fund for aiding Bosnia-Herzegovina is a very good idea, but it is also one of the ways to correct mistakes the international community made against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the end, in reply to the question of whether the government will work in the way it should and must work in the future, Haris Silajdzic said that, after yesterday's session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, the conditions will be created for the government to be able to work both efficiently and effectively. [end recording]

Notes Abuses in Banja Luka

LD1308215195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the first part of its session, the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina discussed the persecution and terror that Bosniaks and Croats are exposed to, especially in the Banja Luka region. The participants also dwelled on the problem of aid to Bihac and some other issues. Senada Cumurovic has the report.

[Cumurovic] It has been estimated on the basis of data obtained from the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] and other international organizations that there are still some 55-60,000 non-Serbs in the occupied territory of the Banja Luka region. Of this figure, 40-45,000 are Bosniaks, while 10-15,000 are Croats. Their already difficult position dramatically deteriorated with the arrival of refugees and paramilitary groups from Krajina. Although the Serb terrorists are blocking all information, nevertheless, news of violence is coming out of the Banja Luka region, which Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic spoke about.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The information at my disposal says that the situation is difficult and I fear that large-scale massacres might take place, as this can already be seen [as heard], especially after the arrival of

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armed men from Croatia. There have been murders—although this cannot be confirmed by the Red Cross—but, as I have learned, last night or the night before last an old married couple was murdered, others are being thrown out of their houses at night and are practically living on the street. This could lead to an extremely difficult situation, and we are obliged to warn about it and do everything we can for those people. [end recording]

[Cumurovic] Prime Minister Silajdzic said that around 5,000 people were expelled in 1995; around 200 people—mostly women, children, and elderly people—last week alone.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The ethnic population is completely disenfranchised; many people are literally living on the streets. International organizations—primarily the UNHCR and the Red Cross—are aiding the so-called minorities, but have no access to many people. Living conditions are intolerable. This population is exposed to constant harassment—they are being thrown out of their houses and apartments, they are being stripped of their property, murdered. Twenty-two people were killed in Prijedor [west of Banja Luka] in March. There have also been murders in Sanski Most [west of Banja Luka]. [end recording]

[Cumurovic] According to information released by the Interior Ministry, the notorious prison camps at Manjaca, Keraterm, and the so-called Little Camp in Banja Luka have been reactivated. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views 'Government Crisis'

AU1108190095 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 4

[Commentary by Esad Hecimovic: "Diplomacy and/or Nation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The resignation of the prime minister of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic, which was announced and then forwarded in writing to the president of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Miro Lazovic, on the afternoon of 3 August 1995, was explained only by invoking an article of the Constitution and the procedure provided for in the case of a government crisis. All previous explications had been given at the previous meeting of the Club of Representatives of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but they were also given throughout last year, which is how long the political crisis in the second government of Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has been going on. Although the resignation did not come as a surprise, for of the aforementioned reasons, it was an emotional, political, and psychological shock. That was the reason for the Main Committee of the SDA, after their emergency session of 5 August, to ask Prime Minister Silajdzic to withdraw his resignation before 9 August. A session of the Presidency of the Republic was announced, at which, according to the SDA, unless the prime minister's resignation was withdrawn, it would be accepted and a new mandate would be given to one of the potential candidates: Kasim Begic, Hasan Muratovic, Safet Orucevic, Mehmed Corhodzic, and others....

The reasons for the prime minister's resignation and the debate about the government within the structures of the SDA (the Executive Committee, the Main Committee, and the Club of Representatives) and among the leadership of the republic are not known to the public. The debate was, for the time being, completed behind the closed doors of the SDA Club of Representatives in the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it is up to its protagonists to decide whether it will be made public.

Prime Minister's Autonomy

Public and secret debates on the relations between the Executive Committee of the SDA, the Presidency of the Republic, and the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been going on for a year now, as the crucial issue of domestic politics on the territory under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. In September 1994, Prime Minister Silajdzic resigned from his positions as a member of the Executive Committee and the vice president of the SDA, stating his reasons in his letter to the party leadership. Two crucial reasons have remained the same: The feeling that the orders issued from the Executive Committee of the SDA infringed upon the autonomy of the prime minister in leading the government, and the defense of the right to differences and freedom in Bosnian politics and public life. During the last year, the resignation of the party's vice president has never been discussed at the sessions of the SDA bodies, and a public debate was rejected by the party leadership as groundless and contentious. The rumors about the existence of conflicts in the political leadership of the republic were even characterized as a special war, so roundtable discussions and political actions have now been announced, intended to explain to the people what in fact happened.

Silajdzic's departure from the prime minister's post is, so it seems, final. Since the discussion on political personalities was an important part of this political debate, the impression Silajdzic gave in Zenica is also important—once he hands in his resignation, then it is irrevocable. [sentence as published] Besides, the nam-

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ing of potential candidates is an act that contradicts the appeal to Silajdzic to withdraw his resignation! According to the explanations given, the SDA leadership did so because "the people are under the wrong impression that Haris Silajdzic is our sole candidate for the post of prime minister, whereas in reality the SDA has five candidates for this post in every city."

The legal reasons for the prime minister's resignation concern different interpretations of the division of power between, first of all, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Alija Izetbegovic] and the prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the competences of the government in comparison with the Presidency and the Parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the autonomy of the prime minister in leading the work of the government and its ministers.... Political reasons range from a different view of the position of the prime minister in the political hierarchy of Bosnian and Bosniak politics, to different political views on a number of other issues. At the same time, not even during the debate in Zenica did these political differences grow into the dilemma of "either Haris or Alija," nor into any sort of polarization within the party organs of the SDA in relation to the choice of leader. For the members of the SDA organs and most of its members, the selection of the leader was solved in 1990, and the position of Alija Izetbegovic as the national and state leader has never been questioned. Silajdzic himself also accepts the leading position of Alija Izetbegovic. It has been pointed out that, by his actions, he had no intention of provoking any sort of conflict on that basis. In all public addresses, as well as at closed meetings, Silajdzic has always refused any possibility of conflict with Alija Izetbegovic. First of all, because of his personal respect for and relationship with President Alija Izetbegovic, Silajdzic is prepared to resign, rather than to contend with the president. Silajdzic's acceptance of the leading position of Alija Izetbegovic also implies his political acceptance that Izetbegovic practically has the status of president of the republic. In Zenica, Silajdzic did not question or endanger the president's political space, but instead, in the first place, he posed the question of his own space and his own position in the division of power.

Besides, Silajdzic did not provoke a conflict at the public session of the Republican Assembly, nor did he place the existing political differences within the relationship between the parliamentary opposition and the SDA. The selection of the SDA Club of Representatives as a stage for a discussion about the existing political differences and different legal interpretations did not endanger the unanimous action of the SDA representatives in the Assembly, nor the internal unity of the party. But the resignation and the debates about relationships that have been going on for a year at least have had consequences among the people and the public, which once more shows the need for a different attitude of the party towards the public and a different response to criticism. It is obvious that public debates about existing problems and political differences are not only good, but necessary.

Distribution of Competences

Among the disputable issues in the relationship between the prime minister and the SDA leadership, there is the issue of the inefficiency of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the domestic plane. In the addresses of President Izetbegovic to the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Main Committee of the SDA at the beginning of this year, the party and national prospects and views of priorities in the work of the government were pinpointed. Some hold the opinion that the prime minister has neglected this part of his domestic political duties in favor of his international political engagement. SDA party leaders insist that, already in October 1993, on the occasion of Silajdzic's nomination as prime minister, a clear condition was set that the prime minister could not be the foreign minister at the same time and that he must repect the authority of the SDA. Also, the "division of labor" between the president of the presidency and the prime minister had already been established—with the Presidency having special competences in the fields of foreign affairs, the army, and security. It is claimed that Silajdzic accepted all those conditions. He is also being criticized for having devoted more than a half of his working time to foreign policy through his practical engagement, neglecting his duties in domestic affairs. The party leadership was not satisfied that the government did not solve many concrete, vital problems—from the catastrophic situation in the health sector, to soldiers' salaries. It is claimed that it was precisely such inefficiency within the government that created the need for greater engagement by the party and the Presidency in those issues, since dissatisfaction had been created among the people against the SDA as the ruling party. Prime Minister Silajdzic rejects these criticisms, claiming that it was precisely the limitation of the government's and the prime minister's position and influence that limited their efficiency.

During the debate in Zenica, no conceptual conflict could be noticed, because all suggestions and requests that the prime minister posed and on which he conditioned his resignation were, principally, accepted without dispute. The prime minister's requests for person-

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nel changes, however, primarily of new Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, were not accepted. Most of Silajdzic's dissatisfaction was caused precisely by his feeling that he was no longer the superior, the one who sets the tasks and to whom the ministers of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina are responsible.

Silajdzic's resignation from the prime minister's post, with regard to the relationships within the SDA structures, could be seen as the resolving of a situation that has existed throughout the long period of political crisis in the relationship between the SDA leadership and the prime minister. Therefore it is seen as the strengthening and consolidation of the existing political will and the SDA leadership, rather than representing a political split. Yet it is possible that the political differences may develop into conceptual differences on the political scene of Bosnia-Herzegovina, regarding to the attitude towards military strategy and the employment of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the attitude of the army, the state, and society towards rights and freedoms in the society. Assessments of the prime minister's addresses at the time of crisis after the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa range from criticism of his attacks on the army and the leadership, criticism of his having broken the unity of the defense system, and criticism of the his pacifism. Silajdzic is being particularly criticized for arousing speculations, through his speeches, that he has taken a stance for a modern Bosnia against the fundamentalist and totalitarian tendencies.

The government crisis caused by Silajdzic's resignation threatens to expedite and deepen the process of the delegitimation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina republican authorities—the government, the Presidency, and the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That process can be seen in the absence of representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the work of the government and the Republic Assembly. The opposition parties, as the third political factor that constitutes the power in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, doubtlessly support Silajdzic, which gives rise to much speculation. Given the present positions, it is possible that the present government crisis will develop into a crisis of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Bosniak Organization on Silajdzic's Return

AU1108162495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A news conference of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] was held in Tuzla today, discussing the situation in our country. Addressing the journalists were MBO Deputy Chairman Salih Burek, as well as Dzemal Hadziabdic, Muhamed Morankic, and (Muradin Djanic), members of the Main Committee. Here is a report by Enes Osmancevic:

[Osmancevic] We are pleased by the news that Dr. Haris Silajdzic withdrew his resignation from the post of prime minister. He has thus fulfilled the wish of many Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens, MBO Deputy Chairman Dr. Salih Burek said at the party news conference today. We demand that the members of the Party of Democratic Action abolish all the factors that led Dr. Silajdzic to tender his resignation, Dr. Burek said decidedly and added that many problems and perplexities would thereby be overcome.

Dr. Salih Burek reiterated the MBO stand that one should start working on amendments to the Constitution of the Federation and announced that such a demand will be submitted to the chairman of the Assembly of the Federation.

The essence of these amendments is that Serbs would also be enabled to have the position of a constitutive people in the Federation, in the same way as Bosniaks and Croats do. One would thereby express recognition of all the Serbs who are fighting for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the MBO deputy chairman explained.

We want to open their eyes, Dzemal Hadziabdic said, and tell them that those of them who have not committed crimes can live in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Bosnia does not belong to Karadzic and his followers, nor will it ever do so.

Touching upon the meeting of the Republican Assembly in Zenica last week, Dr. Burek expressed his displeasure with its work. According to him, the adopted amendments to the Republican Constitution degraded the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency by making it possible to appoint a Presidency member without previously putting up candidates and electing members.

Remarks have also been made about the replacement of the word Muslim by the word Bosniak in the said amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This, according to MBO members, leads to unnecessary mixing up of the national and religious concepts.

Greetings and congratulations to members of the 5th Army Corps for their brilliant success in liberating the Cazin Region were issued from the MBO news conference today.

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SDP Group, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Pluralism

AU1108151995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Bosnia-Herzegovina headed by its chairman Nijaz Durakovic today talked with John Menzies, U.S. ambassador to our country. During the talks, Ambassador Menzies expressed special interest in the SDP's official stands regarding the current period in the democratic life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly seen from the angle of strengthening and expanding the room for affirming democratic principles of political pluralism and parliamentary democracy.

Durakovic informed Ambassador Menzies of the SDP's political stands and the current events, pointing out the need for preserving political unity in the present moment of the struggle for Bosnia Herzegovina as an independent, integral, and democratic civic community and all its citizens and peoples. He particularly stressed the devotion of the SDP of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the principles of democratic political pluralism.

Croat Leader Meets Serb Member of Presidency

LD1108165295 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Milan Sutalo reports on a meeting between President Kresimir Zubak, and Dr. Mirko Pejanovic:

[Sutalo] The talks focused on the position of the Serbs who have remained in the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, or rather in the federation, and on a more active political role for them. We [as heard] proposed to President Zubak that consideration be given to the creation of a model for the Serbs who live in the Croat-Bosniak federation, which might serve to win over the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina so that they might accept solutions which mean that Bosnia-Herzegovina is constituted as a federation of three equal peoples—something the Serb Civic Council advocates.

Asked what message can be sent to the Serbs who live in the so-called the Serb Republic, following the Croatian Operation Storm and the increasingly frequent defeats of Karadzic's army on the battlefields of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Pejanovic says:

[Begin Pejanovic recording] My message to them is that they should not continue to be killed, and not die for something which will not be a political reality, and to accept the Contact Group peace plan which is, indeed, a compromise solution for all the peoples, but at the same time represents peace. My second message is that they should not die for borders which will never be international borders. My third message is that we can never move Bosnian land away; we should live in it and we should live in it as neighbors. So it is better to find solutions for this life together. [end recording]

Ambassador Views Kladusa Refugees, Abdic Forces

AU1108203795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 95

[Statement by Kasim Trnka, ambassador of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Republic of Croatia; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the blockade over Bihac was lifted through the joint action by the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Army in Operation Storm, a large number of refugees left. They include a lot of armed people who were under the control of Fikret Abdic's paramilitary forces. They crossed over to the territory of the Republic of Croatia and are stationed along the line between (?Vojic) and Velika Kladusa.

What is involved is the number of refugees that may reach 3,000 to 4,000, and it is estimated that they include a certain number of armed people.

In our contacts with the Croatian authorities, including the talks at the highest level that were held two days ago, it was agreed that everything should be done to have these people return to their country and to give them the possibility of choosing to either join the units of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which include units of the Croatian Defense Council in the Bihac region, or to surrender their arms and return to their homes as civilians. The Croatian Government and the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in particular, are ready to give all guarantees of human freedoms and rights, including the security of property and stress that, under the conditions established by the Law on Amnesty, this amnesty will be extended to these people, of course on the condition that they are not war criminals.

In this case, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is ready, in cooperation with the Croatian Government, as well as international organizations—above all the International Red Cross and the ombudsmen in Bosnia-Herzegovina—to (?ensure) more efficient guarantees of human rights.

This is why I am also taking this opportunity to call on all our citizens to return to their homes, because their personal security, the security of their property, and all human rights will really be fully guaranteed to them and they, just as all other citizens, will be given the choice between continuing the fighting among the ranks

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of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army or living unrestrainedly as civilians in the region of Velika Kladusa or other regions of Una-Sana Canton.

I hope that this will make it possible for the [word indistinct] Bosniak people to overcome these difficulties it had until now and, as a united national body, contribute to solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the territory of the former Yugoslavia as quickly and successfully as possible.

As the escaped population insisted that, at any cost, they will return if Fikret Abdic tells them to—at least this top leadership around him did so—and as the Croatian authorities certainly made an effort not to have armed people and such a large number of refugees on their territory, but to have them leave for the Velika Kladusa region as soon as possible, contact was made with Fikret Abdic and he, of course, accepted all these conditions of return and promised to demand of all the people that are close to him and on whom he still has influence to return to the region. At the same time, he (?stressed) that his political career in Bosnia-Herzegovina is finished and that he has no intention of any political or public activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

New War Between Croats, Muslims Anticipated

AU1408080095 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Lidija Soldo and Goran Rosic: "The Muslims Are Turning to Tehran and the Serbs Are Already Secretly Negotiating With Pale and Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian conquests in Krajina will completely alter the political and military context of the war in Bosnia. The plan of the Contact Group will no longer be relevant. Alija Izetbegovic, aware that he incautiously made a military pact with Croatia and let its army enter deep in the territory of Bosnia, has already begun to make underhanded dealings with the Serbs (both with those in Pale and in Belgrade), while soon it will come to Muslim-Croatian skirmishing in Bihac, which will trigger a war between them....

Such a development in Bosnia is anticipated by TELEGRAF's well-informed sources, who also predicted in the last issue of TELEGRAF the resignation of Haris Silajdzic from the position of prime minister of the Croatian-Muslim Federation. Our sources also claim that Izetbegovic, having eliminated Ganic and Silajdzic, has begun making a turn in his policy (which we predicted as well).

According to our sources, the change in his policy, after Silajdzic's departure, will manifest itself in the termination of close relations with the Americans and Western European countries. He will then turn toward the only two sides that would allow the constitution of a Muslim state in Europe—Teheran and the Serbs! Several days ago (before the Croatian attack on Krajina) Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived in Split from Teheran, and threatened Tudjman with termination of all relations with Croatia if his army, which had already entered Bosnia, were to attack the Muslims there!

Nevertheless, our sources are positive that a conflict between them will come about, first in the region of Bihac. First it will come to skirmishing, which will escalate to large-scale fighting, spilling over to central Bosnia—Vitez, Busovaca....

When speaking of Izetbegovic's contacts with Serbs, according to our sources, they are already being established, and precisely with official Belgrade and Pale. Izetbegovic is examining the mood on both sides. Izetbegovic is said to be more inclined to direct talks with Karadzic, while his proposal might anticipate a possibility for the Serbs to leave the union after a certain period of time (most probably two years).

As our sources point out, the Muslim leader does not want to join greater Croatia that is being constituted right now. In return, of course provided that he agrees with the Serbs on the exchange of territories, he could even ask for support by the Serbian artillery in eastern Herzegovina in order to clear the way for his troops toward the Adriatic coast, that is, Neum!

Izetbegovic, who at the time of the meeting of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zenica was sitting several chairs away from Silajdzic, still does not intend to appoint Muhamed Sacirbegovic as prime minister (he considers Sacirbegovic to be more useful as foreign minister), but rather Hasan Muratovic, current minister for cooperation with the United Nations, a man who often negotiated with representatives of the Serbian Republic at the Sarajevo airport, and not solely about humanitarian issues. Muratovic will have five countercandidates, of whom Kasim Begic, dean of the Law Faculty in Sarajevo, is the only one known to the broader public.

Karadzic Finds U.S. Initiative 'Acceptable'

LD1208095895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Gradiska, 11 [as received] Aug (SRNA)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, assessed in Gradiska today [date not given] that most of the ideas contained in the new U.S. initiative are acceptable to Serbs.

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"We have no objection, above all, to the imminent ending of the war. This idea is closest to our hearts," President Karadzic explained, and continued:

"The idea of the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not run counter to our interests either, because Bosnia was divided even before the war. This whole war has not been fought to divide Bosnia because Bosnia was divided before. This war has been waged in order to reunify it, although it is impossible to join together something which has been smashed apart."

The president the Serb Republic concluded that "here we have no disagreements whatsoever with the new U.S. initiative."

"However, I believe that the Americans should abandon the idea of percentages and of percentages emerging as a result of a conference, and not set as a precondition for a conference," Dr. Karadzic added, and explained:

"The two states should be made functional and able to survive with natural borders, and these borders should be defensible, so that most Serb areas are within a Serb state, and most Muslim-Croat areas in a Muslim-Croat state, so that finally the borders can be drawn here once and for all, as was the case in Scandinavia in 1903."

Comments on Milosevic

LD1108212095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2010 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 11 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic, said in Banja Luka on Friday that the outcome of Thursday's Moscow talks between Serbian and Russian Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Boris Yeltsin would not be worth anything unless they are suitable for the people in the Serb Republic.

In an interview for GLAS SRPSKI, to be published tomorrow, Karadzic said he was convinced that the West had recommended to Tudjman to set conditions for his trip to Russia, because, as Karadzic said, "One should not forget the fact that the West will not allow Russia to achieve fame by ending the Bosnian war and settling the crisis."

Speaking about the pressure that Belgrade was putting on the Serb Republic to accept the Contact Group plan, President Karadzic warned that the goal of all the previous plans had been the defeat of the Serb people west of the river Drina.

"The Vance-Owen plan was designed to ensure that our state is wiped out and that all that is left of us are certain districts. The Owen-Stoltenberg plan, which we had accepted under pressure from Belgrade, gave us a very small possibility of uniting the state territories," the president of the Serb Republic recalled and went on:

"The Contact Group plan was designed to create chaos and to resettle our people, which would result in the collapse of all our defense lines, after which the Muslims and the Croats would stage some sort of incident and finish us off."

Speaking about the Croatian aggression against Krajina and the ethnic cleansing of this area from western Slavonia to Knin, President Karadzic said that "the international community itself was telling the Serb people they must win."

"I am less concerned about the international community, whose sympathy and antipathy are irrelevant. I am more concerned about the fact that the Republic of Serb Krajina was not defended by all the Serbs," said Karadzic.

Convinced that Milosevic had not entered into any negotiations with Tudjman regarding the currently topical maps showing the division of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, because "it was only Tudjman's informal sketch," the Serb Republic president said that "the final map will be such as the people, the state, and its army draw it."

Hints at Recognition

LD1208214595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of the armed forces, visited Petrovac today and met representatives of the war presidencies of Petrovac, Drvar, Bosansko Grahovo, Kljuc, and the Serb municipality of Bihac.

Following the meeting behind closed doors President Karadzic addressed the people of Petrovac.

Speaking about the reasons for the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina, President Karadzic said that this "certainly did not happen because of the soldiers," because if they had been "commanded appropriately they could have defended Krajina for three years."

The supreme commander of the armed forces of the Serb Republic told the people of Petrovac that the state and military leadership of the Serb Republic "will not allow any failures or mistakes in running the state and the army."

"We will defend the Serb Republic and do it successfully," Karadzic said and added that "what the people want to defend can be defended."

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"The lines collapsed only in those areas where there had been no determination," Karadzic said.

President Karadzic said that Grahovo and Glamoc would be liberated "as soon as possible" and announced the possibility that "the Serb Republic will be recognized and its borders guaranteed, probably very soon."

The meeting in Petrovac was attended by Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic.

Unity Essential for Victory

LD1208214995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Krupa na Uni, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and supreme commander of the armed forces, said in Krupa na Uni today that at the moment the most important thing is to ensure the unity in all Serb ranks and achieve the final goal—the victory over the enemy.

The Serb Republic president stressed that complete unity among state bodies and within the army was necessary for victory. He added that "there have been many requests for all changes in the Serb Republic army to be suspended and all strength to be focused on defense."

"The supreme command of the Serb Republic army is doing its duty, just as all other commands are doing, and there are no problems in that respect," the Serb Republic president said, and stressed that "Serb positions are the easiest to defend when the people are determined to stay in their homes."

President Karadzic and Biljana Plavsic, Serb Republic vice president, toured Serb fighters on the front lines of the Serb Republic's western borders and the wounded in Krupa na Uni.

'No Withdrawal' From Petrovac

LD1308221695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2050 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Petrovac, 13 August (SRNA)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of the armed forces, said today in Petrovac that there is no doubt that the Serb Republic will soon be recognized and its borders guaranteed.

"I assured you that you should stay and you did, although you saw hundreds of thousands pass through. You stayed because that is your right. You stayed because you were assured that all this could be defended," President Karadzic told a rally in Petrovac. [passage omitted]

"There shall be no withdrawal orders. There can be no withdrawal and thus shall it remain until the war is over," President Karadzic warned, saying that the Serb Republic soldier is the best and most experienced soldier in Europe today.

Dr. Karadzic and his closest associates today visited Krupa na Uni and Drvar, where they met the presidents of the war presidencies of Grahovo, Glamoc, Bihac, Kljuc, and Petrovac.

In Drvar, the commander of the Bosnian Serb army's 2nd Krajina Corps, General Radivoje Tomanic, briefed them about the situation on the front and the successes scored by the Serb army over the past few days while advancing on the occupied towns of Glamoc and Grahovo.

Halts Proposed Army Changes

LD1108142495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and armed forces supreme commander, today decided to halt all envisaged changes in the army.

In this connection, the Serb Republic press bureau has issued the following statement:

"Taking into account an appeal by His Holy Highness Patriarch Pavle, intellectuals, the people, and the soldiers, and taking into account the views of Serb generals, and to ensure Serb unity and victory, Radovan Karadzic, Serb Republic president and armed forces supreme commander, has decided to halt all envisaged changes in the army in order to strengthen unity and enter into the victorious and concluding phase of the war."

Commentaries on Attempt To Remove Mladic

Karadzic-Mladic 'Conflict'

AU1108160795 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 pp 8-9

[Article by Goran Rosic: "Karadzic's Decision To Attack Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde Cleared the Way to Knin for the Croats, and the President of the Serb Republic Used That Fatal Mistake To Remove Mladic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Monday evening, 7 August, the news came from Pale, affirmed, though not very firmly, by Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Serb Republic [RS], that there had been, with a certain

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amount of suspicion, a reconciliation between Karadzic and General Mladic; that they had buried the hatchet in the name of higher goals—the unity of the state and the army, since a further blazing up in their personal conflict would divide the army and the army command and thus seriously endanger the prospects in the fight of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Chroniclers remember that serious differences in the strategy of the conduct of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina existed between Karadzic and Mladic already in 1992, when the war started. The general, unlike his president, considered that the war should be conducted and ended militarily, meaning with a military victory. He asked Karadzic to mark on a map the cities that should be captured, and said that he, Mladic, would do the work with his army. As our well-informed sources claim, however, political decisions often stopped military operations, so that stop-and-go tactics, unacceptable to a soldier, were established.

TELEGRAPH's well-informed sources claim that Karadzic and Mladic first came into serious conflict in October 1994, which we have written about, as the units of the RS Army, commanded by Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, practically defeated the 5th Corps of the Muslim army, since the Serb army entered the center of Bihac, and Gen. Milovanovic made a pompous statement: "I am on my way to arrest Atif Dudakovic [5th Corps commander]." Then there was an incredible twist. The army of Manojlo Milovanovic was ordered to withdraw. Political sources in Pale claim that Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter announced his visit to Pale, with the promise that he would end the war through diplomatic and political means, and that the outcome would be very acceptable to the Serbs. The General Staff of the RS Army did not believe such promises, so there was a dramatic meeting of the staff, at which Gen. Milovanovic demonstratively took his insignia of rank off and threw them in front of Karadzic, who threatened to remove him. Gen. Milovanovic did not appear in public for months afterwards, and Carter's mission ended in a diplomatic defeat.

The second open conflict between Mladic and Karadzic occurred in March of this year, at the session of the Serb Assembly in Sanski Most. This is the first conflict between the president and the general that was presented to the public by all the media. The western press, primarily that of the United States, then started to exploit the thesis that Slobodan Milosevic, who had already entered a conflict with Karadzic, would remove the stubborn leader of the Bosnian Serbs using Gen. Mladic. In general, Mladic said at the Assembly in Sanski Most that some economic potentials were not being used for the defense of the country and that the state leadership was to be blamed for that. In essence, Mladic believed that the state leadership was tolerating war profiteering.

Actually, at the Assembly in Sanski Most, Mladic only warmed up their earlier differences regarding the employment of all human and economic potentials for the goal of military victory. Mladic advocated that, from the beginning of the war, a state of war should have been proclaimed in the RS. In his opinion, that would have solved two important problems: It would have prevented desertion among the militarily able population, and war profiteering would have been reduced to a minimum. Karadzic believed that controlled war profiteering was useful for a country in war and that the desertion of the population was not a serious problem, since, at that time, the Serbs were had a superiority over their enemies.

The general opinion is that Gen. Mladic lost in the Assembly in Sanski Most, since there was no subsequent energetic fight against war profiteering, nor was a state of war proclaimed.

The conflict between Karadzic and Mladic escalated on Thursday, 3 August, when, in the absence of Mladic, who was in Belgrade at the time meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, Gen. Momcilo Perisic, Karadzic ordered Mladic's transfer to another duty—that of coordinator between the armies of the RS and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. Gen. Mladic immediately summoned the commanders of the RS Army, and the generals, 18 of them, issued a statement addressed to the RS Assembly saying that they did not accept Mladic's transfer, i.e. removal, and that they would obey only his orders.

In his public addresses, Karadzic tried to convince his army that this was not the removal of Mladic, but rather an objective need of the war. He told one western European television station that he had removed Mladic in order not to have to explain to the people why the RS Army was losing towns and important strategic territories.

After the statement of the army commanders, Karadzic urgently summoned the RS Assembly, from which he received support.

The conflict of the general and his president, as the well informed believe, will not end just like that. Karadzic controls all the media in the RS, so that the opinions of Gen. Ratko Mladic and his commanders have not been published there. Mladic's popularity in the army and the people is greater, certainly greater than Karadzic's. That is why Radovan Karadzic, as our sources in Pale say, is handling Mladic's transfer very carefully. Our source stresses that a sudden removal of Mladic might mean the

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end of Karadzic's career and political position, and more than that. One must not forget that the conflict escalated right after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic sent his letter, his appeal for peace, to Ratko Mladic and not to Radovan Karadzic. Mladic is often in Belgrade. As TELEGRAF has discovered unofficially, a house is being built for him in Belgrade, and in an interview with TIME, Slobodan Milosevic stressed that Gen. Mladic was exempt from the blockade, i.e. that he was the only official from Pale for whom the blockade on the Drina River was not valid.

Our sources close to President Milosevic say that he is using the reputation and authority of Ratko Mladic to oust the disobedient Radovan Karadzic from the post of RS president. Karadzic recognized this in time and tried to remove Mladic from the position that gives him an extreme political and military power. To tell the truth, as our reliable source claims, Gen. Mladic has never displayed any political ambitions nor agreed to take on any, not even Karadzic's, political function.

At the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army however, they look upon the conflict between Karadzic and Mladic somewhat differently. A senior officer, who wants to remain anonymous for understandable reasons, says that the loss of Grahovo and Glamoc is highly suspicious. He believes that Gen. Mladic probably obeyed Karadzic's order to cleanse Zepa, Srebrenica, and Gorazde, in order to get them over and done with once and for all, and then conquer Bihac. The Croatian forces used that moment, captured Grahovo and Glamoc, and cleared their way to Knin.

[Box, p 8]

Biljana Plavsic Reconciled the Military and Political Leaderships of the Serb Republic

As TELEGRAF discovered from circles close to the RS Army, Biljana Plavsic, the RS vice president, played the greatest role in reconciling the generals and the politicians. Miss Plavsic, popular among the soldiers, recently visited the 7th Corps of the RS Army in Banja Luka and units in Bijeljina, where she spoke to generals and other officers.

According to TELEGRAF's sources, Biljana Plavsic managed to convince the senior officers, who mainly support Gen. Ratko Mladic, that it was necessary to overcome the conflict between Karadzic and Mladic. The vice president promised the "soldiers" that, in Pale, the seat of the political leadership, there would soon be a cleansing of the cadre, and that all politicians who profited from the war would be removed.

After she informed the officers that Gen. Ratko Mladic had been appointed the operative commander of the joint army of the RS and the RSK, and not some sort of adviser or coordinator, as had been thought, Biljana Plavsic was promised that the "soldiers," at least in this critical moment, would not meddle in politics.

Innuendo, Intrigues Criticized

AU1408071295 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 5

[Unattributed report: "A Transparent Campaign"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Serbian Republic the conflict between the military and the political leadership [sentence incomplete as published]. After the decision to demote the commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic, the leadership in Pale has started a ruthless campaign aimed at deceiving the army and the people, particularly after the unanimous support offered by all army generals to General Ratko Mladic. In this campaign against the army all means are being used.

Putting On Pressure by Disseminating Lies

Instead of using the entire human and material potential to fight against the enemy, a political campaign has been started against the army, its unity, and the General Staff headed by General Mladic. Certain officials of the ruling party (Serbian Democratic Party) have distributed written pamphlets to some commanders and officers, in which the Army of the Serbian Republic is attacked, and many fabrications and falsehoods are stated. The information system of the army has been dissolved as well, even though it successfully functioned throughout the war. Censorship in the state-run media has been introduced, barring army officers from publicly stating their views. Television time is given to people who have little or nothing to do with war reality, and are not involved in fighting. All this is done following a cunningly devised plan to remove Mladic.

At the assembly meeting in Pale, held behind closed doors, where some party officials tried to get formal support for Mladic's removal, no concrete conclusions have been reached. Since the arbitrary and reckless decision made by Radovan Karadzic was communicated to the public first, rather than to Mladic, the president of the Serbian Republic has faced many problems. That in the following days there will be many attempts to exert pressure on the officers is confirmed by the fact that some assembly deputies have tried to misrepresent the letter written by Mladic and top brass of the Army of the Serbian Republic as a military coup, and called for sanctions against them.

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From SRT [expansion uknown] Banja Luka, according to sources close to the military Krajinas [as published], the main boards of political parties, individuals, and army members are already being solicited by telephone. They are required to declare themselves against Mladic and the generals who have signed the statement of loyalty to their commander. Certain political parties, which have access to the media, are expressing unreserved support for Karadzic, and are threatening the army generals with a Chetnik uprising. Some uniformed members of the army and the MUP [Interior Ministry of the Serbian Republic] in Banja Luka are campaigning among the refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina against Mladic, while party leaders are being forced to appear on the television, and under threats and blackmail to make statements against the army and Mladic.

The statement regarding Mladic's demotion, which the information service of the Army of the Serbian Republic has forwarded to other media in the Serbian Republic, has not been brought out by anybody. However, journalists are informing the corps' press centers that the greatest number of the citizens of the Serbian Republic support Mladic. A member of MUP, we have learned, literally said:

"Karadzic has gone completely mad. He should be removed from his position as soon as possible, because he does not know what he is saying, and he is sowing dissension among the people. How dare he dismiss General Mladic, who has proven who he is and what he is, and how great his contribution to the struggle for freedom of the Serbian people is!"

TV Soldiers

Karadzic's appearance in the TV broadcast "At the Bastion of Fatherland," which was rebroadcast twice on the following day, has enraged the citizens. People are fed up with intrigues, they say. The military circles have perceived that there is conspicuous interest among MUP members in how soldiers are viewing the decision on Mladic's removal. Manipulations with the media and censorship boil down to dissemination of falsehoods about the army, officers, and generals.

The leadership of the Serbian Republic these days, instead of being absorbed in the defense of the country and care for its people, is holding lengthy meetings, sitting before TV cameras for hours, justifying the absurd demotion of General Mladic. Such conduct is causing dissension among the people and in the army, and according to some military estimates, the whole issue could assume an even more difficult form of conflict.

Karadzic, it is maintained, has demoted Mladic because he succumbed to the suggestions of advisers with suspicious intentions, who chiseled their way to the state leadership. One such person is retired General Bogdan Subotic, now head of the presidential military cabinet. Subotic has succeeded in convincing the state leadership of Mladic's putschist intentions, which the leadership of the Serbian Republic has taken for granted and demoted the commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic. The greed for power has induced Karadzic to remove Mladic without previous consultation with anybody in the Army of the Serbian Republic or among the opposition in the assembly, dissolve the General Staff, and appoint himself supreme commander of the army.

As we have learned from the circles close to the army, the military public prosecutor will bring up criminal charges against retired general Subotic.

General Mladic Says War Could End Peacefully

LD1308204095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2021 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 13 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Army Commander Gen. Ratko Mladic said on Sunday that the Bosnian war could end if the international community adopted a neutral attitude to all parties to the conflict and recognised the Serbs' right to a separate state.

The war could end if the world took an honest and neutral attitude to all parties to the conflict and gave the Serbs what it has taken away from them by its irrational decisions and resolutions, Mladic told U.S. Cable News Network television.

He specified that the Serbs had been deprived of their right to a state, and that the army had no choice but to defend the people.

Mladic said that, if the world had not learnt its lesson from the Vietnam, Middle East, Gulf and Chechnya wars where dark forces had been involved, it should realise now that the war must end and disputes be settled by peaceful means.

Asked when the war in Bosnia would end, Mladic said that the answer to that question should be given by the U.N. Security Council and other international centers of power that were pulling the strings of this war.

These same forces helped the Muslims and Croats buy tanks, planes and helicopters despite the 1991 U.N. ban on arms sales to all of former Yugoslavia, he said.

These weapons are now being used to massacre columns of Serb refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina,

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Mladic said and added that, without its foreign patrons, the Croatian Army had never been and would never be a force to be reckoned with.

He said that many questions could be solved by political means on the basis of what was logical and possible, and not by massing arms in the region.

Speaking about the Republic of Serb Krajina, Mladic said that the invading Croatian troops should withdraw and let the peacekeepers do their job, and that the people should return to their homes.

No one must endorse the occupation, Mladic said explaining that Serbs had lived in Serb Krajina for centuries.

He said that the exodus of the Serbs from Serb Krajina was one of the worst tragedies in the history of the Serbian people, made all the worse by happening on the threshold of the 21st century and with the approval of the world centers of power.

Asked if there were mass graves in Srebrenica, Mladic said that all civilians from Srebrenica had been transported to the town of Kladanj at their own request and under the supervision of international humanitarian organisations.

Furthermore, all captured Muslim soldiers had been duly listed and registered, all bodies found in Srebrenica after its liberation have been duly buried in the Muslim cemetery, and some Muslim troops have managed to escape and reach the town of Tuzla, he explained.

Saying that Bosnian Muslim Gen. Rasim Delic had vowed to assemble his 28th Division from Srebrenica, Mladic asked how an army division could have operated in a demilitarised zone.

He explained he had signed agreements with the then U.N. Commander for Bosnia, French Gen. Philippe Morillon, in April and may 1993 stipulating that the Muslim enclaves should be demilitarised.

Speech at Banja Luka Air Base

AU1208150895 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation on the roads in the Serb Republic is significantly better today. True, the refugees are still travelling, but the lines are not as slow or as crowded. The reason for this is that 100,000 of them have found refugee accommodations in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while a large number, according to Dragan Kalinic, minister for health and social welfare in the Serb Republic [RS] government, wish to remain in the RS; at least 20,000 families, the minister said, and added that refugee accommodations were hastily being set up for them.

Now that the jams have subsided, we can say that according to information received so far, at least 250 people have died, mainly babies and elderly people who could not endure the days-long, harrowing move. People here are still convinced that the humanitarian airlift will begin. Let me remind you that a Medecins Sans Frontier Boeing 727 landed here last night, which brought 28 metric tons of [word indistinct] and foodstuffs. Several flights have been announced for today, but none have as yet reached the airport.

As for other points of interest, RS Army Commander General Ratko Mladic's speech has sparked particular interest. The general addressed the 474th Air Force base in Banja Luka, which all the local media speedily reported. He said that the Serb people had never been in a more difficult situation, but that the RS defenses were firm and that the army under his command was committed to holding out to the final victory. He appealed for unity in order to resist the Croat-Muslim assaults, the assaults of their helpers, and all those who are spreading panic among their own people and thus destabilizing the defense.

Fierce clashes have again been reported on the fronts today, particularly on Mt. Ozren, at Doboj and Srbobran, while the RS Army on the Grahovo-Glamoc front continues to take the initiative. In Posavina, on the Orasje front, RS Army troops have downed two Croatian planes—one unmanned and one propeller-driven plane. It seems that the planes were on a reconnaissance mission, but also frightening the refugee columns that are passing that way.

Serbs Ban People From Leaving Municipalities

LD1208141095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 12 Aug (SRNA)—The government of the Serb Republic, which held an emergency session in Banja Luka today, discussed the reception of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Serb Republic. It also gave its backing to efforts undertaken by the headquarters for the reception of refugees and agreed future tasks.

The government was briefed about the situation in Serb Republic border areas. It was concluded that all defense lines are stable and that there are no reasons for panic and fear nor the need for people to move from any municipality in the Serb Republic.

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A statement issued from the government session adds that any permanent move from Serb Republic municipalities is banned because there are no justified reasons to do this.

Government representatives will today visit the war presidencies of the Kozarska Dubica, Novi Grad, Petrovac, Drvar, Kljuc, and Sipovo municipalities, where they will be briefed about the current situation in these municipalities so that adequate measures are taken to ensure their safety and security.

The Serb Republic government, which is in permanent session, has resumed its work.

Bosnian Serb Official Criticizes FRY's Policy

LD1208130595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 12 Aug (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic's National Assembly, warned the international community today that "every plan based on the idea of a whole Bosnia and a whole Croatia will fail."

"It is obvious that the plan being proposed by Russia and the United States was prepared earlier and that they were only waiting for the extermination of the Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina," Krajisnik said.

The [Bosnian] Serb speaker said he was not briefed about all details of Moscow's and Washington's proposal. He added that the existence of the Serb Krajina cannot be ignored so that efforts can be simply switched to finding a solution to the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We want a political solution," Krajisnik repeated. He said "Serbs, Croats, and Muslims cannot live together after this bloody war."

According to him, policies pursued by the FRY "threaten to wipe out the RS [Bosnian Serb Republic] and the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina] as states."

"We refrain from making any significant comment about official Belgrade and do not want to pour oil on the flames, but treating General Mladic and Alija Izetbegovic similarly shows that the RS is being ignored as a state and that attempts are being made to create preconditions for something else," Krajisnik said.

French Defense Minister Visits Mt Igman

AU1408100195 Paris AFP in English 0949 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 14 (AFP)—French Defense Minister Charles Millon visited French troops stationed on Mount Igman outside Sarajevo early Monday [14 August] ahead of talks with Bosnian leaders later in the day, UN officials said.

Millon began his one-day visit to the Bosnian capital by meeting with French forces deployed with the Franco-British led "Rapid Reaction Force" on Mount Igman, just southwest of the city, they said.

He was due to meet later in the day with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic.

Millon, who was flown in from Croatian port of Split, is the first French minister to enter Sarajevo from Mount Igman, the only open land route into the city.

Millon's visit comes amid a flurry of diplomatic activity aimed at drawing up a new plan for resolving the Balkans conflict.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Robert Holbrooke is due in Sarajevo later Monday to present new U.S. proposals for peace in Bosnia.

UN Says British, Russian Peacekeepers Wounded

AU1208141795 Paris AFP in English 1223 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 12 (AFP)—A British soldier has been shot in the leg by a Bosnian Army soldier while escorting a food and supplies convoy into the eastern enclave of Gorazde, a UN official said Saturday [12 August].

Bosnian Serb forces refused to allow the soldier to be flown out of Gorazde by helicopter after the incident on Friday, and he will be evacuated from the enclave on Saturday, said UN spokesman Chris Vernon.

In another attack, a Russian peacekeeper was shot in the head by a sniper in the Russian compound in Sarajevo at 5:00 P.M. (1500 GMT) Friday, he said.

That soldier is reported in stable but serious condition, said Vernon.

'NATO Spy Plane' Downed Near Banja Luka

LD1308181895 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A NATO spy plane has been downed in the area of Banja Luka. It is not as yet known how [it occurred] or who is the perpetrator. The black box is in the Bosnian Serbs' hands. [Video shows soldiers inspecting debris of an aircraft]

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Army Shoots Down Two Croatian Aircraft

LD1208171195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 12 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army has shot down two Croatian planes over the Sava River valley in Bosnia known as the Posavina area, the Bosnian Serb Army Command said on Saturday.

No details were immediately available, except to say that the downed aircraft were a piston plane and an unmanned aircraft, and that they were downed on Saturday night.

Reliable Bosnian Serb Army sources have told TANJUG's correspondent in Banja Luka that the aircraft were reconnoitring possible targets for artillery shellings in the Bosnian Posavina area.

The area where the planes were downed was attacked a few days ago by the Croatian and Muslim artillery, which shelled columns of refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina displaced by Croatia's aggression of Aug. 4, the sources said.

Artillery attacks on Krajina Serb refugees were witnessed by officials of international relief agencies attending the longest and most numerous refugee column (roughly 240,000 people) ever seen since the outbreak of war in former Yugoslavia.

RS Commander Views Strength of 1st Krajina Corps

AU1308195995 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 9 Aug 95

[Interview with Lieutenant General Momir Talic, commander of the Serb Republic Army 1st Krajina Corps, by Rade Milic in Prijedor on 9 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milic] Gen. Talic, in August of 1941, in August of 1991, and now in August of 1995, we again have refugees and the Ustashas. The Serbs are again facing [word indistinct], exile, massacre.

[Talic] Your observation is correct. The year 1941 was critical for the Serb nation. The year 1991 was also critical. We have been preparing for 1995, because we expected our eternal enemy, the Ustasha knife, to make its move. The 1st Krajina Corps has been preparing for that for the past four or five years. The Corps is composed of experienced fighters who are ready to defend their territory and their nation. We do not have a right to our own lives. We must think about the lives of those who are behind us. We must defend our nation. At no price will we abandon our present defense lines, even if we have to risk our lives. We are dealing with an inexperienced enemy, because it has not been engaged in the fighting so far, but in the case of Krajina, our enemy solved all its problems with artillery fire. However, our positions are such that we cannot be harmed by artillery fire, nor can it force us to withdraw from our positions.

Allow me to make a digression. I, too, was a refugee in 1942. I was born that year. Considering our historical experience, there is nowhere else we can go. The entire nation must defend itself. We should not expect any help. It is, of course, welcome any time. We are stronger for the time being, since some units that withdrew from the Republic of Serb Krajina joined our units and will fight along side of our units. Consequently, we have everything we need to ward off the enemy and to successfully defend our state border, as it has been marked by our blood. We must defend that border at all costs, for a nation without a country is like the Palestinians who are without protection, without integrity. A nation without a country is worse off than a child without parents, for when the war is over, the state will act as the child's parent, as happened in my case. But if there is no state, then we have neither a country nor a parent, and we are left unprotected.

[Milic] With the help of its mentors, the United States and Germany most of all, Tudjman has recently issued very serious threats. His Air Force, his mortars, his artillery even target residential areas across the Una River. The Una has obviously become a new boundary of Catholicism. Will Orthodoxy manage to keep it from spreading further? Tudjman threatens to expand Catholicism as far as the Drina River.

[Talic] You see, Tudjman also threatened to reach the Drina in 1991 and in 1992, if he managed to destroy the 5th Corps. Our 1st Corps is much stronger than the 5th Corps and we will keep our positions. Tudjman can go on making threats, but he could easily find himself without the country he created.

[Milic] What can you tell us about the ability of the 5th Muslim Corps to exploit the success of the Croatian Army? Dudakovic is now threatening the inhabitants of Prijedor, Novi Grad, Banja Luka, from Bihac, that he will have coffee in Banja Luka.

[Talic] Dudakovic should rather protect Bihac or else it could happen that he will not be able to have coffee there either. The 7th Corps has been attacking the 30th Division for the past 11 months with all its units and has not managed to take an inch of territory. The 5th Corps embraces the 1st and 2nd Krajina Corps. We will prove our strength on the battlefield. We will not make empty threats.

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[Milic] Some analyses, real analyses have shown that the main direction of expected attack on the Serb nation goes through the 5th Corps and the Una River on one side, while the other attack is expected to go through Vrbas and the Vrbas valley. The third direction is expected to come through Gradiska and Ljevce Polje. Could you comment on that?

[Talic] Those are natural directions. One does not have to be a soldier to figure out that main directions of attacks go through river valleys and main communications and that both the attacker and the defender group their main forces there. Time will tell.

[Milic] I hope that we do not depend solely on time and that the Serb Army, the 1st Krajina Corps, is prepared to repulse those attacks and to defend both the Una, the Vrbas, and the Ljevce Polje.

[Talic] The strength of the 1st Krajina Corps has always depended on the strength of the people in its theater of operations. We have seen how strong our people are. We must all fight against what I call the sixth column—people who are working against their own nation. The sixth column spreads misinformation with the goal of sending people into exile, changing defense lines. It draws up maps and does everything else that the soldiers and the people should not and do not have the need to ponder upon. [sentence as heard] We must use all available means to fight against that sixth column, for it harms our nation, our soldiers, it weakens our defense. If we manage to isolate it—and we stand a good chance of doing that, because we will take serious measures against all those who spread misinformation, whoever they are. Who are sixth columnists? They are mostly people who have wronged our country, who are against us creating our own country, for they are aware that—once this is over, once we create our country, once the war is over—they will be held responsible for all their sins and for the fact that they did not fight side by side with soldiers and the people who have been on front lines since day one. We cooperate closely with all segments of the society, with all leaderships, and that has been the real strength of our corps from the first days until today, and there is no reason to doubt that it will change in the future.

[Milic] The proteges of the Vatican are now deployed along the borders of the Serb Republic, i.e. along the rivers, and we must start getting used to being surrounded by the fascists, by the Ustashas. You have just visited the new defense lines. Are you satisfied?

[Talic] Yes, on the whole. We still have some problems but we will soon solve them. Those are minor problems which have no bearing on the defense of the front line. Some defense lines are extremely well organized and I do not think we have a problem about that. We must get used to.... The fact is that we, the Serbs in the Serb Republic, are fighting against Catholicism and that Orthodoxy is in danger. I hope that other Orthodox countries will realize that potential danger coming from Croatia which, as you remarked, is the puppet of Germany, first of all, but also of the United States, which is using it to wield influence on this region, for it is aware that it cannot use the Serbs to have power in this region, as the Serbs have always been independent and wanted to rule their country on their own.

[Milic] Anyway the Ustashas are a lost cause.

[Talic] We should not even dream of their succeeding, let alone allowing them to succeed.

Serbs Said To Face Attack From Three Sides

AU1208183595 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 12 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs said Saturday [12 August] they were facing attack from three sides in a joint Bosnian-Croatian offensive aimed at isolating them from supply routes in Serbia.

Bosnian Serb army spokesman Branislav Bosic confirmed the Moslem-dominated government in Sarajevo had launched a major offensive in central Donji Vakuf, pushing forward with infantry units after a heavy artillery bombardment in the surrounding area.

Military analysts in Sarajevo said the offensive appeared aimed at busting through Serb-held territory, possibly to reach the enclave of Bihac in the northwest.

At the same time, the Bosnian Serb army spokesman said his forces were under attack from below from Croatian forces moving forward from the areas of Glamoc and Grahovo. It was not immediately confirmed.

The Bosnian Government army was also preparing a big offensive north from Tuzla, Bosic said, with the aim of squeezing shut the five-kilometre (three-mile) wide Posavina corridor near Brcko, which links Serb-held territory in northern and southern Bosnia.

The corridor is the main link eastwards being used for the exodus of refugee Serbs from Krajina, which fell to a Croatian offensive last weekend.

The Serb army also said it had shot down two planes, one a turbo-prop, in the corridor Saturday. It did not give further information.

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Serbs Fight With Croats in Una Valley

LD1108220795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2149 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—Units of the Serb Republic army have the upper hand on the western Krajina front. Battles were waged against the Ustasha in the valley of the river Una toward Grahovo all day, and Serb units managed to break the enemy's front lines in several places, thus considerably improving their tactical positions, the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb Republic army announced this evening.

Fresh losses in manpower and military equipment were inflicted on the enemy and some weapons and military equipment, left by the Ustasha in their flight before Serb units, were captured, the statement says.

It adds that the return of members of the Serb Army of Krajina and their assignment to units of the 2d Krajina Corps has continued. This shows the firm determination of the army and people not to accept the occupation of parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic as a fait accompli, and to liberate every square inch of the land occupied by the Ustasha. [passage omitted]

Serbs Report 250 Deaths Among Fleeing Refugees

LD1108161095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 11 Aug (SRNA)—Up to today, 250 of the 250,000 inhabitants of the Republic of Serb Krajina who left their homes following the Croatian aggression have died during their flight, the Serb Republic state headquarters for the reception and accommodation of refugees announced.

These are mainly elderly and infirm and among the dead are two children. [passage omitted]

ICRC Chief Sees 'Humanitarian Catastrophe'

LD1208060895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0215 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 11 (TANJUG)—President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Cornelio Sommaruga said here on Friday that the situation he had seen on the refugee-clogged roads through the Bosnian Serb Republic was a humanitarian catastrophe.

Sommaruga said he had travelled twice in the past few days between Bijeljina in the northeast of the Bosnian Serb Republic and Banja Luka in the northwest.

He described seeing columns of people, talking to them and witnessing the biggest catastrophe, an exodus of an entire nation, a terrible situation.

Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, mounted last Friday, has displaced about 240,000 Serbs, who have sought shelter in the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

The people are desperate, uncertain of their future, some are totally exhausted, with no news of their near and dear ones for a long time, Sommaruga explained.

He said that the ICRC was doing its utmost to aid the refugees, but that it was difficult, and that they were having problems in organising an airlift.

Sommaruga visited the Yugoslav Red Cross and, in talks with its President Radovan Mijanovic and Secretary Dubajic, gave high marks to the efforts to aid the refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Late on Friday, Sommaruga had talks with Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic, to whom he said that the ICRC and the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies would do their all to aid the refugees.

Sommaruga said that the humanitarian disaster he had seen on the Bosnian Serb roads was worse than his worst fears, as he had seen a large number of wounded among the refugees.

Marjanovic said it was important that Sommaruga had witnessed for himself the extent of Croatia's 'ethnic cleansing' operation against the Serbs and the ruthless treatment of the refugees at the hands of Croatian authorities, a Serbian Information Ministry statement said.

He said that Sommaruga's activity was believed to be a first step on the road to the truth which was still being kept from the world community, which was why those responsible had not been adequately condemned and why there had not been adequate aid for the refugees.

270,000 RSK Refugees Pass Through Banja Luka

LD1208171595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Since the beginning of the exodus, around 270,000 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina have passed through Banja Luka, the crossroads of all refugee routes, and 80,000 of them have arrived in Serbia, humanitarian agencies report.

According to the same sources, the fate of 12,000 people from Kordun who are encircled in Topusko [in northern

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Krajina] is still uncertain, as well as the fate of 10,000 people from Banija encircled in the Glina area. [passage omitted]

UN: 'Massive Expulsion' of Banja Luka Croats

AU1408104995 Paris AFP in English 1034 GMT 14 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 14 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs are making final effort to expel Croats and Muslims from Banja Luka, with non-Serbs begging to leave following a systematic campaign of threats and intimidation, the United Nations said Monday.

"The Bosnian Serbs have started a massive expulsion of ethnic Croats from the Banja Luka region," said Mark Cutts, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR].

Much of the latest pressure to move came from an influx of Croatian Serbs after the Croatian army defeated Serb soldiers there. Cutts estimated that 112,000 Serbs from the Krajina have arrived in Serbia since the offensive this month.

Bosnian Serbs hold Banja Luka in northern Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"It is expected that it is only a matter of days until the Muslims will be expelled from the area," he said, estimating that 45,000 Muslims and 15,000 Croats remained in Banja Luka of a pre-war population of more than 500,000.

An estimated 600 Banja Lukans would be crossing into Croatia Monday, he said. More than 5,000 expelled since the beginning of the year.

"After three years of murder, intimidation, expulsion and harassment and the systematic blowing up of more than 200 mosques in the Banja Luka region, this seems to be the final effort of the Bosnian Serbs to achieve their goal of ethnic purity," Cutts said.

He said some Croats and Muslims in the area were begging to leave.

Local politicians have gone on the radio urging the minorities to leave, and some residents received letters from a previously unknown group called the "Association of Refugees of Serbska Krajina," which is leaving letters at doorsteps, Cutts said.

One letter read: "Muslims and Croats: We left our homes and our property under attack by the Muslim and Croat armies. We are now among our own people. What are you waiting for, you who are not in the army of the republic of Serbska. You have our houses and households from which we were chased away. We will now move into your houses. Leave in peace. Tomorrow will perhaps be too late."

Fate of Zepa, Srebrenica Muslims Reaching Serbia

LD1208190395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Reports are coming in from the ground about a hunt for the people who escaped from Zepa and Srebrenica. Their final destination was Sandzak [Muslim-populated area in Serbia and Montenegro]. Here is our reporter:

[Unidentified correspondent] The escape to freedom for many Bosniaks from Zepa and Srebrenica had a tragic ending. Those who managed to get to the border with Serbia were either returned to local Chetniks or allowed to cross over to Serbia after which all traces of them were lost. In its special programs, Serbian propaganda tried to spread lies about the alleged care and kindness of the Serbian Red Cross towards the Bosniaks who reached the border for Loznica.

The truth, as presented by the Muslim National Council of Sandzak on the basis of the testimonies of survivors, is that the majority of these Bosniaks had been returned to the mercy of Bosnian Chetniks.

Their fate, as well as the fate of 700 Bosniaks who reached Uzice, is not difficult to imagine. A Bosniak from Srebrenica who managed to reach Sandzak said that on 14 and 15 July in Orahovo the Chetniks slit the throats or similarly disposed of some 500 Bosniaks trying to reach Sandzak. The same witness claims that bodies of Bosniaks have been scattered all over Mt. Zlatibor and Mt. Tara. On the road between Visegrad and Priboj about 1,000 Bosniaks were caught and returned as they were trying to save their own lives by crossing over to Sandzak.

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Commentary Criticizes U.S. Ambassador

LD1108205995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 11 Aug 95

[Commentary by Marko Barisic]

[FBIS Translated Text] A large number of Serbs from the liberated areas have decided to leave Croatia and go to Serbia, although the Croatian leadership appealed to them to stay. This was their free choice, although some international factors are trying to blame Croatia for it. Here is a commentary by Marko Barisic:

[Barisic] The U.S. Ambassador (to Croatia) Peter Galbraith visited a column of Serbs from Banija, who decided to leave Croatia for Serbia of their own free will, on the Petrinja-Sisak road yesterday. Martic's soldiers, who had surrendered, were in the column. The Croatian leadership decided to let them go together with the civilians.

Croatian police guaranteed their safety all along the road to Serbia. While the column was moving, a group of Croatian displaced people, who were indignant that Martic's terrorists were allowed to go freely, threw stones at the column at one place. Croatian police swiftly established order. The attack resulted in several broken car windows. There were no injured or wounded among the Serb refugees.

U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith then comes into the limelight and sits on a tractor, as journalists report, apparently wanting to show solidarity with the Serb refugees.

Undoubtedly, there can be no greater tragedy than when a man leaves his home. A column of Croatian Serbs is as tragic a sight as other columns of refugees.

But the U.S. ambassador did not do just that. He started to make some grave statements about the Croatian leadership. He behaved in a manner totally inappopriate to his office.

So it is necessary to make some things absolutely clear. A total of 120,000 Serbs and 102,000 Croats lived on the territory of former sectors north and south before the war. Martic's parastate expelled all Croats. A month ago, only 79 (Croats) lived in sector south and some 200 in sector north. However, unlike Serbs, Croats could not leave with their possessions on their tractors or in cars, but left with just a bundle of possessions in their hands or with a travelling bag. Furthermore, the Croats had no choice. They were simply deported. Unlike the Serb paraleadership, President Tudjman had called on all Serbs to stay in their homes before the liberation operation was launched.

The surrender of the Krajina army was conducted in the presence of the Red Cross and UN observers. All soldiers, even those under well-founded suspicion of committing war crimes, were set free.

Should Ambassador Galbraith be remainded of the Serb-style capture and murder of civilians? Has he heard of Srebrenica and the mass killings of men—if one counts 12-year-old boys as men? Neither the Red Cross nor the United Nations were present there.

Furthermore, the U.S. ambassador could go to Petrinja and see what the Serbs did and what the Croats did. Let him try to find burned down Serb villages. Then he should go to Hrastovica and Graberje and other villages that have simply ceased to exist. Let him enter Serb churches that are being guarded by Croatian policemen, and before coming to Lovrencevo, let him go to Petrinja to cut the grass on the place where the Catholic Church once stood.

It would be good if he were to ask Cyrus Vance why he did not ring the Red Cross before the fall of Vukovar, so that it could at least have listed the names of the wounded in Vukovar hospital.

Despite everything, the Croatian leadership did not allow revenge to take place. The Croatian police are guarding the refugees 24 hours a day as confirmed by (UN spokesman) Christopher Gunness. It should also be recalled that Croatia had 12,000 dead and 35,000 wounded and war invalids in its struggle against the aggression, which the world community watched in silence while imposing an arms embargo.

Croatia has suffered fresh casualties in Operation Storm: Almost 200 dead and 1,800 wounded.

On the other hand, 35,000 Croats have been expelled from Serbia so far. Out of 85,000 Banja Luka Croats, only 20,000 are left today. Their mass exodus is now under way.

Despite all this, the Croats do not want to use the same methods, because ever since they started to create their own state they have been aware of double standards: The Serbs are allowed to do everything and the Croats are always under suspicion.

It would be good if Mr. Galbraith went to Davor or Donji Miholjac, where expelled Croats are arriving after crossing the rivers Sava and Drava by boat. Let him find one Croat who was allowed to take a tractor or a car, or someone who was told he could stay in Serbia if he wanted. Then, like Carl Bildt, he can conclude that everyone here is the same.

Maybe behind these assessments are attempts to appease one's own conscience despite the facts. It is easy to be

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Pilate and turn one's head away from the pictures of tanks headed for Vukovar from Belgrade in 1991.

Mr. Galbraith is also trying to do this, because he has behind him the failed Z-4 plan. He has (behind him) political assessments that the Croatian Army would be defeated if it tried to liberate its territory.

Even today Mr. Galbraith advocates some sort of negotiations with Babic. Let him explain that to the Croatian citizens who are today burying their dead knights in Sisak, Senj, Samobor, and other graveyards throughout Croatia.

There would be no need to say all this if only Mr. Galbraith and certain other ambassadors in Croatia were carrying out the duties they were charged with: to be representatives of their governments, and not to disrupt good relations between their country and the state in which they are posted. They should not be self-appointed map creators.

As far as the Croatian state is concerned, it respects the efforts of ambassadors to help protect the human rights of all citizens, including the Serb refugees, because it is itself doing precisely that.

Croatian, Bosnian Foreign Ministers Meet

LD1208172495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Aug 95

[Report from Baska Voda by correspondent Srdjan Fabijanac]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between Dr. Mate Granic and Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign ministers of the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, started about an hour ago. We have learned that in the course of the closed talks, the two ministers will discuss the political and security situation following Croatian police and army Operation Storm, especially in the light of the liberation of the entire Bihac region. They will also discuss implementation of the Split declaration and new peace initiatives, specifically the one coming from Washington.

Before the talks, the two ministers ministers expressed mutual satisfaction with the current implementation of the Split declaration and the overall developments.

It is expected that Ministers Granic and Sacirbegovic will read an official statement after the talks.

Applaud U.S. Initiative

LD1208212495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic and Muhamed Sacirbegovic, the foreign ministers of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, held talks behind closed doors in Baska Voda this afternoon. They made statements after the talks. Srdjan Fabijanac reports:

[Fabijanac] The implementation of the Split declaration and the political and security situation following Croatia's Operation Storm, especially in light of the liberation of the whole of the Bihac region as well as the latest peace initiatives, in particular the U.S. initiative were the main topics of discussion for Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbej in Baska Voda this afternoon. After the talks, which went on for one and one-half hours behind closed doors, the two ministers made statements, from which we selected the following excerpts:

[Begin recording] [Granic] This meeting is the continuation of regular consultations between foreign ministers. We reviewed the situation following the Zagreb declaration, especially the implementation of the Split declaration, as well as the situation around Bihac and the return of a number of Bosniak-Muslim residents to Bihac. We concluded that the process is going well and that the overall situation in the region is stabilizing. Croatian forces have reached the border, whereby the whole process and Operation Storm were completed.

We also discussed the American initiative and expectations from it. The initiative could give the most powerful impetus to the peace process. We carefully studied all other peace initiatives—the Hungarian, the Indonesian, and President Yeltsin's. But we believe that this American initiative is the most promising one.

[Sacirbegovic] We should add that the successful offensive of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina over the past week really gave a new impetus to the whole process. I think that we owe the American initiative to these actions and cooperation between the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

[Granic] I agree with this. There certainly would be no American initiative without Operation Storm. I would like to add that the Split declaration made a big contribution. [end recording]

[Fabijanac] The position on the Rapid Reaction Force and its deployment in Bosnia-Herzegovina was agreed upon. They also agreed on joint diplomatic activity and announced visits by European officials to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The two ministers concluded that Bihac would have followed the fate of Srebrenica and Zepa had it not been for Croatia's [Operation] Storm.

In response to accusations voiced by part of the international public against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina

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following [Operation] Storm, Minister Sacirbegovic said:

[Begin Sacirbegovic recording] Why did we not hear such accusations—as we should have—when Srebrenica and Zepa were at issue? That was genocide, true war crimes, for which someone should be held responsible before the Hague Tribunal. Some people seem to be ready to accuse Croats, the highest representatives of the Croatian state, and they kept quiet while [Serbian paramilitary leader Zeljko Raznjatovic] Arkan's men and Ratko Mladic did their work in Srebrenica and Zepa. [end recording]

[Fabijanac] Ministers Granic and Sacirbegovic agreed to visit our emigrants in the United States together. At the end, they condemned the latest Chetnik attacks on Dubrovnik.

Russia, UK Said To Sabotage Split Declaration

AU1308174695 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 8

[Commentary by Ante Gugo: "Sabotage of the Split Declaration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It was clear that the Croatian military action, intended to establish the legal system in the occupied territories, would meet with resistance from certain countries, but hardly anybody could suppose that they would use the dirtiest of tricks, some of which are perhaps unprecedented in diplomatic communications. The Russians and the English are the first in the burst of rage caused by the Croatian Army's success in what the British, for example, claimed Croatia was incapable of achieving, i.e. the military triumph over rebel Serbs.

After being unable to foist on the Croats any serious case of human rights breaches or disrespect for international codes of conduct toward prisoners, British journalists, in cooperation with some of their state officials, started spreading lies and dubious information with such persistence and bestiality that even the Serbs might envy them.

In this way, a SKY television network journalist, Tim Marshall, launched a story about some sort of napkin on which President Tudjman allegedly drew a map of a divided Bosnia-Herzegovina. That story was launched precisely as the Croatian-Muslim alliance finally began using enforcement at the military level, causing the Serbs to start losing hundreds of square kilometers of occupied territory daily. It must be recalled that the unfortunate Croatian-Muslim war had broken out on that very territory, and when members of British peacekeeping forces were there. Now they are once more trying to achieve the same.

But, let us go back to the napkin story. Would the president of a state allow himself to carefully draw at least three states on a napkin and afterward divide them with a pen? It would take time even for a professional cartographer to do that. Maybe somebody in President Tudjman's company did, indeed, draw a line on a napkin; however, that certainly was not in the company of a journalist, but instead among high state officials from Great Britain. Specifically: At the lunch in London that Marshall mentions, there were no journalists, only high state officials. A question now arises as to who told the journalists the story about a napkin that nobody ever saw, and why. It can therefore be concluded that the president of the Republic of Croatia did not draw anything on a napkin. This is the second time this poor propagandistic trick has been attempted.

At the same time, another Serbian ally, Russia, is trying to organize a meeting between Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic in Moscow. They are doing that in the heat of the worst campaign over the alleged intention of the two presidents to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina, which could fatally influence the Croatian-Muslim alliance and stop the Serbs' military debacle. British media have already started commenting on the military agreement for cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e. the Split Declaration, as Tudjman's wish to send his troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina to divide that country. They have no intention of telling the truth: namely, that Croatian troops might go even further into Bosnia-Herzegovina, not to divide it but to finish off the Serb occupying armada in conjunction with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Further: They have never mentioned that Croatian forces entered Bosnia-Herzegovina exclusively at the request of President Izetbegovic.

What the Russians and the English really want can best be seen in the Russian request for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council. At the same time they are inviting President Tudjman to come to talks in Moscow, the Russians are requesting that sanctions be introduced against Croatia unless the Croatian Army retreats to the starting positions. They have thus very clearly said that they wish a part of the Croatian territory to remain occupied forever. Such an impudent act of negating the sovereignty of an internationally recognized state is unprecedented. Through this act, the diplomacy of the Russian Federation has shown clearly who would gladly divide Bosnia-Herzegovina. Is it possible for Bosnia-Herzegovina to be whole if a part of its territory is under Serbian occupation? Thus, the request for a part of Croatian territory to be returned under occupation means nothing but cementing the occupation of Bosnia-

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Herzegovina. Or maybe, according to the Russians and British, Bosnia-Herzegovina would have to be whole—under Serbian occupation.

Croatian Triumph Spurs Bosnian Expectations

AU1308203995 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 7

[Commentary by Mario Galic: "Bosnia Is Waiting For Its Own 'Storm'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian "Storm" smashed not only the parastate of "Krajina" but also the unfounded statements of most foreign military "analysts." Namely, they kept saying that the Croatian Army was growing stronger but that it was still not strong enough for operations of big dimensions, like the frontal attack on all of "Krajina." General Mrksic [commander of the army of rebel Serbs in Croatia] thought the same when he persistently claimed he would no longer allow the tearing apart of his parastate "piece by piece." He never even thought about a possible general attack on "Krajina" at the time. All those evaluations were based on assumptions that only professional brigades of the Croatian Army and special troops of the Ministry of Interior were good enough for offensive actions, whereas all others were only territorial forces, inadequately trained and immobile. All that proved to be wrong. The truth is that professional troops are the most effective part of our Armed Forces, but that the "Storm" could by no means be started—to say nothing of completed—without massive use of brigades composed of reserve soldiers, but also territorial defense troops. Serb positions were sometimes even penetrated by underestimated territorial defense troops, which acted in parallel—sometimes even in front of the professional troops. Because of all that, it can no longer be said that the Croatian Army resembles the Israeli Army, or that it wishes to reach its level. They are now equal in strength and capability, and other armies can take them as a model.

With its intensity, "Storm" caused a change in the balance of powers, on the territory of the former Yugoslavia but also in the Balkans as a whole. When "Storm" is definitely completed, the pointer on the scales of military and political relations will be completely on the side of not only Croatia but also the Bosniak-Croat coalition in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the military aspect, the balance of powers has changed completely. Croatia now controls the greatest part of its territory, and the Croatian Army can concentrate on solving the problem of Eastern Slavonia and Baranja. It has proved its efficiency and strength clearly, breaking in but three days the whole paramilitary of Serb rebels from "Krajina."

Akashi to Sarajevo

If until now Milosevic planned to keep Baranja and Eastern Slavonia under occupation, and annex them to Serbia after a while—and everything points to that—now he must thoroughly change his plans. After mobilization, the Croatian Army can concentrate over 200,000 soldiers and a huge amount of equipment in the direction of that last part of occupied Croatian territory. Milosevic could respond in the same way, but then he would risk too much.

Now it is more than certain that Croatia has the support of the United States and that, in particular, Croatia has become the protector of American interests in this region. That is a fact Milosevic certainly cannot ignore. Facing at the same time the strength of the Croatian Army and the dislike of the greatest world power for his policy, with his participation in the war against Croatia he could lose everything. On the other hand, even if he succeeded—he would get too little in comparison to what he invested. In this case the risk is much greater for him than the gain, because who can guarantee that Croatian forces will not manage to liberate Eastern Slavonia and Baranja, even if Milosevic sends his Army to help the rebel Serbs there? At the same time he would risk sharp reaction by the United States. After all, the question is how, and with how great a loss, Milosevic is going to survive politically such a fast loss of "Krajina."

After the "Storm" Croatia has grown immeasurably politically as well, since now all political pressure and blackmail lose their meaning. True, a great majority of the Krajina paramilitary will withdraw to the Bosnian "Serbian Republic," but it is questionable whether that is very good for the Serbs there. They are no longer a few thousand crushed Chetniks from Western Slavonia, but a proper mass of armed soldiers followed by an even bigger mass of civilians, equally bitter and angry. They all believe that they have been betrayed, and they are absolutely right to think so. They have been betrayed—not now, but much earlier. Milosevic betrayed them when Serbia started stumbling under the pressure of international sanctions. However, they could not, and did not want to, realize that then—and now it is too late.

Serb rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be able to fortify their positions with the Serbs who came from Croatia, but it is quite questionable whether that will have any effect. On the other hand, 20,000 excellent soldiers of the 5th Bihac Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army do not have to waste their strength fighting Croatian Serbs and Abdic's troops any longer. That fact will enable this best corps of the Bosniak Army, after a rest and reinforcement, to make a breakthrough in the

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direction of the southeast, toward Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, and the already liberated Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc. With active help from Croatian forces, this breakthrough is very feasible.

In this way, the 5th Corps would connect with other units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the Serb paramilitary would suffer complete defeat.

Increasingly deeper disputes, quarrels, and violent disagreements among Serb leaders from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina show that they can hardly maintain their crushed troops. Quite in harmony with their tradition, they are after one another's head.

In this way, the Croatian "Storm" is spreading to Bosnia-Herzegovina, announcing the end of the dream of a Greater Serbia on these territories as well. Now that Croatia is free, Bosnia, too, feels the vicinity of its freedom stronger and stronger. And it might come by this time next year.

Retired General Appointed Defense Council Member

LD1108210595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We start the news bulletin with a statement issued by the office of the Croatian president:

A session of the Defense and National Security Council chaired by the president of the Republic was held in the Presidential Palace. The president of the Republic informed the council members that he had appointed retired Corps General Janko Bobetko member of the Defense and National Security Council. Gen. Bobetko could not attend today's session because he was present at the funeral of members of the Croatian Army in Sisak.

During the session [words indistinct] Cervenko briefed the Council about the successful police and army Operation Storm and about the current situation in the liberated area of Croatia.

The prime minister; the governor of the national bank; the ministers of development and reconstruction, economy, administration, transport and communications; and others briefed the Council on the current economic, administrative, and social problems facing the liberated area and put forward tasks and plans on how to incorporate it into Croatia's economic and administrative life.

Defense Ministry on Attacks in Dubrovnik Region

LD1308182995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In reaction to the Chetnik attacks on the Dubrovnik region, the political administration of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Croatia has just issued the following statement:

For the second day today, the Chetniks of [Bozidar] Vucurevic [head of Trebinje local authorities], under the criminal guidance of their leader [vozd] and war criminal Radovan Karadzic, from their strongholds in eastern Hercegovina, have been using artillery projectiles of all calibers to attack civilian targets throughout the Dubrovnik area as well as the frontline. At about 1130 [0930 GMT] today, the enemy, supported by its artillery, carried out an infantry attack, which the Croatian Army units successfully repulsed, inflicting considerable losses on the enemy.

These operations are being accompanied by an unprecedented propaganda machine by the so-called Serb Republic, while Montenegro Radio has reported that their soldiers have penetrated the defense lines in three directions. In this way, they have admitted that there is a direct involvement by the army of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in this criminal act.

In these unprovoked attacks, the enemy has caused enormous damage to civilian targets and fresh destruction. Several fires broke out; these have subsequently been localized. Enemy artillery attacks are still going on. A general alert that was sounded in the Dubrovnik area yesterday remains in force. The Croatian Army units are ready to retaliate fiercely and effectively against these terrorist attacks.

Belgian Commander on Situation in Baranja

BR1108134595 Brussels RTL-TVI Television Network in French 1700 GMT 10 Aug 95

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Marcel Danau, Bel-Bat 10 commander from Beli Manastir, in Baranja by RTL reporter Erik Silange; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] For some days now an important Serb convoy has been moving toward the Croatian border. The Serbs are visibly reinforcing their military troops in case a Croatian offensive starts in Eastern Slavonia. Our special reporters in Croatia met with Lieutenant Colonel Marcel Danau, commander of the Belgian blue helmets in Baranja. Tensions remain high in Eastern Slavonia, but the Belgians have obtained guarantees from both sides, Serbs and Croats, that they will not be targeted nor taken hostage in case a conflict starts. A report by Erik Silance and Stanny De Buyst:

[Begin recording] [Silance] The situation remains very tense in the Baranja area where the Belgian Blue Helmets are deployed. Both Croats and Serbs have prohibited us from taking the slightest picture of our troops. For that reason we are using archived footage filmed

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during our previous visit to the area. Nevertheless, we have been able to interview the Belgian battalion commander today. He confirms the renewal of tensions here in the area over the past days, but he insists that no real fighting is taking place near our soldiers. One can say though that tensions are running high.

[Danau] I am standing in front of the Drava [River]. On the other side of the Drava is the bridgehead. You can see the woods. Behind it are the Serbs. We are on the Croatian side. At the moment there are Croatian troops on the bridgehead. On the other side there are a lot of Serb troops, and both are waiting to fight each other. Especially at night, they start shooting at each other. One must remember that they are scared, and to prove that they have courage, especially at night, they shoot at each other. I must add that they are not targeting UN observation posts or barracks, and that there is no danger for us. Both sides have also guaranteed us safety, and have said that no matter what happens, they will not attack UN troops.

[Silance] Even if fights between the two sides become generalized here in the region?

[Danau] Even if fights become generalized—but I must add that for the time being, I do not believe this will be the case.

[Silance] The situation could, however, very quickly degenerate. The Serbs have in fact recovered all the heavy weapons they had handed over to the Blue Helmets. Also, tanks still continue to arrive from Belgrade to the area, but the colonel is positive: These units remain on their side of the border. Apparently Belgrade does not intend to intervene in the area at all, but simply intends to protect itself in case of a new Croatian breakthrough.

Sanader: No 'Military Plan' To Conquer Slavonia

BR1408141295 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 13 Aug 95 p 14

[Interview with Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader by Elisabetta De Dominicis in Zagreb; date not given: "No War for Slavonia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb—*There have been big celebrations in the Foreign Ministry: In the splendid neoclassical room there have been toasts to victory.*

"We will use all diplomatic means to regain Slavonia in a peaceful way, but it must return to Croatia," said [Croatian Foreign Minister] Mate Granic, who had dinner with Herzegovina Defense Minister Gojko Susak and Croatian Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader at the Intercontinental Hotel yesterday evening.

[De Dominicis] Will your side launch an armed intervention in Slavonia soon?

[Sanader] We do not have any military plan. We want to solve the question in the coming months by negotiating with the Serbian representatives in the region: Goran Hadzic and Boro Mikelic. When the latter was Krajina prime minister, he concluded an agreement with us on that possibility, which President Martic rejected subsequently. We are certain that the just concluded military operation has changed the geopolitical landscape and offers more opportunities for a negotiated peace as well as in Bosnia.

[De Dominicis] What will you offer the Serbs?

[Sanader] Cultural autonomy. Do not forget that the Croatians in Slavonia had a relative majority and, together with the Hungarians, had an absolute majority—namely, more than 70 percent. We want to conclude an historic agreement, not a compromise, as [Italian newspaper] CORRIERE DELLA SERA suggested.

[De Dominicis] You speak of a propaganda war.

[Sanader] When we reconquered our territories, Croatian radio transmitted a message every half hour urging the population to stay. Unfortunately, Serbian propaganda terrorized the people and made many afraid of revenge by returning Croatian acquaintances.

[De Dominicis] Were the refugees fired upon?

[Sanader] A military group, which had mixed among civilians, was hit after it refused to surrender and lay down its arms.

[De Dominicis] Is it true that 200,000 people have fled?

[Sanader] According to our calculations, there cannot be more than 120,000. Let us not forget that in 1991, 300,000 Croats fled from Krajina and in 1992 two million Muslims and 200,000 Croatians from Bosnia. There are still today 200,000 Croatian refugees and as many Bosnians in Croatia.

[De Dominicis] What about the secret agreement about Bosnia's partitioning?

[Sanader] It does not exist. This was demonstrated by Tudjman's refusal to accept Yeltsin's invitation because Yeltsin had ignored Izetbegovic. He would prefer to attend a meeting in which the United States and the Western powers are present.

[De Dominicis] What about the question of the Italian minority in Istria?

[Sanader] There are no problems between Italy and Croatia: a mixed commission is preparing a bilateral

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agreement and Croatia is prepared to resolve all internal problems on the condition that the status of minority is acknowledged by the numerous Croatians who are Italian citizens.

[De Dominicis] Why did Tudjman speak of Italian imperialism?

[Sanader] The accusation was not directed toward official policy, but rather toward the statements published by some newspapers, such as Martic's interview appearing in the 2 August IL GIORNO as well as some Italian parliamentarians' relations with the Krajina Serbs, who allegedly had promised them part of Dalmatia in exchange for recognition. All this irritates the president because Croatia is fighting for union and freedom. A Croatian priority is friendly relations with Italy so that the common sea does not divide but unite us.

Serbs Expel More Croats From Yugoslavia

LD1208115995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sanja Racic reports that Kukujevci, Gibarac, Golubinci, Novi Banovci, Sonta, Vasica, Sid, Petrovaradin, Sot, Sremska Mitrovica, and Sonta [as heard] are towns and villages from which Croats have been expelled over the past three days,

The list of places the Serbs, especially those who have come from the liberated Croatian areas, wish to ethnically cleanse—and, it seems, are being successful in ethnically cleansing—is increasing by the day. And the number of Croats seeking refuge in Croatia as a result of Serb terror, is growing by the hour.

Over 150 people who were driven at gunpoint from their homes and properties in Vojvodina and Srem have already crossed the Donji Miholjac border crossing into the Republic of Croatia. The expelled Croats, although frightened, feel good in Croatia. [passage omitted]

'Rebel' Serbs Said 'Biggest' Problem in Knin

AU1208183695 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 11

[Interview with Colonel General Ivan Cermak, commander of the Croatian Army Military Garrison in Knin, by Igor Caktas; place and date not given: "We Must Catch the Remaining Rebels"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It was not long after the Croatian Army troops and police had liberated Knin in a stormy attack that the toilsome and slow process of establishing military and civil authorities began, in order to integrate the town into free Croatia after five years of Serbian occupation. The newly appointed commander of the Military Garrison in Knin, Colonel General Ivan Cermak, had to face the complex problem of coordinating the military and civil police, the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] forces, and the EU peacekeepers in a town that was anything but normal and in which there still remained a number of fanatics who cannot accept the fact that their puppet state disappeared in one minute, just as though it had never existed.

[Caktas] How is the setting up of the military garrison in Knin going, and what are the basic problems that you have encountered?

[Cermak] The military garrison in Knin is in the process of being set up. We are trying to normalize life in a town that has no water or electricity and in which the telephone lines do not work. On 7 August, we moved the Croatian Army troops out of town and positioned them around Knin; in the town itself, there are now military and civilian police forces that have the complex task of trying to normalize life and maintain peace and order.

[Caktas] Are there still some armed rebel Serbs in Knin who did not surrender when the Croatian Army entered the town?

[Cermak] There are many rebel Serbs in the town who have still not surrendered. We are arresting them daily. They hide during the day, and at night they behave as the worst criminals, hideously attacking our police troops. Many of them are in the nearby woods, from where they undertake terrorist actions. They shot at me as well, but fortunately I escaped without any injuries. One shell landed near my car.

[Caktas] What is the situation like at the Knin hospital?

[Cermak] There are wounded Serbs whose paramilitary deserted them and left thm to the Croatian Army's care. The hospital was in extremely sad shape—lack of necessary equipment and dirty, deteriorating wards. We soon equipped the hospital and got everything up and running so that under the present conditions it can function normally. The hospital's situation will improve once life in the town returns to normal. All the wounded Serbs were received medical treatment—those we found in the hospital and those wounded during the fighting. A large part of those found in the hospital who were left to our mercy did not expect to receive any help from us, fearing that our soldiers would kill them as they had done to us.

[Caktas] How has the Serb population of Knin been treated, and what is their attitude on being integrated into normal life?

[Cermak] A small number of the Serb population remained in the town, mainly older people who could

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not retreat with the remaining Serb paramilitary. We are helping all those people, and we are offering them protection. I talked to the Serb refugees in the UNCRO refugee camp, and many of them want to live in the Republic of Croatia. They are aware of their mistakes and are prepared to suffer the consequences. They have only just realized that they were seduced, and to which degree their self-proclaimed leaders deceived them, offering them lies about Greater Serbia as the only salvation from the "terrorist Croatian regime that maltreats Serbs." Out of 800 people in the camp, 400, in their first discussion with the Croatian Army representatives, expressed a readiness to cooperate. We only just found out from our talks with Serb refugees how much their leaders lied to them. They had no idea about President Tudjman's proclamation. They lived in great fear because of the destructive influence of propaganda.

[Caktas] Are there any fears of hidden explosive devices in the town? And how is the demining of the terrain being carried out?

[Cermak] The rebels left Knin in surprise and in a great hurry, so they had no time to do the evil things that they certainly would have done had they had a little more time to retreat. The engineering units of the Croatian Army are constantly going over the terrain, so everything is being thoroughly cleansed, both in the town and its surroundings. In cooperation with the UNCRO forces, who are going to provide detailed plans for demining the terrain, we will begin an extensive inspection in order to remove any danger of remaining explosive devices as soon as possible, first in the town and then outside.

[Caktas] Have you encountered any problems in contacts and cooperation with the representatives of the international peacekeeping forces?

[Cermak] Not only do we not have any problems with the peacekeeping forces, the cooperation with them is great. I held talks with Yasushi Akashi and the commanders of the UNCRO forces, and we were quickly able to reach an agreement on cooperation. The UNCRO forces and Croatian companies are repairing the Knin water system, because to render the water system usable is a precondition for all other systems—in the first place, supplying the town with electricity and establishing communications with the world. The town currently has electricity thanks to aggregates, and communication with the world has been established through the "mobile telephone."

[Caktas] Will it take long for life to go back to normal?

[Cermak] Yes, it will, because our biggest problem is the remaining paramilitary forces, who, through their desperate actions, mostly at night, are attempting to destabilize the situation, but we hope that, thanks to the constant coordinated and successful actions of the Croatian Army and the police forces, we will soon capture them, after which there will be no problems with establishing the civil authorities and restoring and repairing the town.

UN: Abdic's Followers Refusing To Go Home

AU1308135095 Paris AFP in English 1330 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 13 (AFP)—Thousands of followers of the renegade Bosnian Moslem leader Fikret Abdic are refusing to return from Croatia to their homes in Bosnia, for fear of reprisals, UN officials said Sunday.

Between 10,000 and 30,000 refugees who fled from the Croatian attack in Abdic's former stronghold, Velika Kladusa, are currently sheltering in Vojnic in Croatia, to the north of the Bihac pocket.

A UN medical team on the spot described the plight of the refugees as "deplorable." Among the refugees are sick people evacuated in the face of the Croatian offensive.

"There is not enough food, not enough water, the situation is very tense," said an official. An aid convoy arrived in the area on Saturday.

The Croats want the refugees to start moving towards Velika Kladusa, but the refugees don't seem ready to do so.

Although an agreement on the return of Abdic's supporters was signed on Wednesday between Croatia and Bosnia, the refugees themselves have made it clear that they will only comply if Abdic himself asks them to.

Abdic, who controlled the north of the Bihac pocket until last weekend's Croatian offensive, is currently being held under house arrest in the Croatian capital Zagreb.

Meanwhile UN officials said that the destruction of houses, crops and livestock was continuing in Croatian territory formerly held by the rebel Serbs, particularly in the south of the country.

According to the United Nations, 60 percent of all houses in the village of Donji Lapac, near the Croatian-Bosnian border south of Zagreb, have been destroyed by the Croatian army.

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Official Views Serbian Refugee Situation

MS1408091595 London BBC Television Network in English 0715 GMT 13 Aug 95

[Interview with Ivan Simonovic, Croatian assistant foreign minister, in Zagreb, by presenter Justin Webb in London; from the "Breakfast with Frost" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Webb] Do you accept that what has happened to these Serbian refugees, who we've seen streaming out of Croatia over the last few days, is a disaster, not only for them but also for your country?

[Simonovic] Absolutely, the exodus of Serbs from Croatia, which is going on now, is absolutely a tragedy. We have witnessed the same and we have painful experiences with displaced persons and refugees, and at a time we had in Croatia 700,000 displaced persons and refugees. So all our sympathies are with the Serbian refugees.

[Webb] And are you sorry for what has happened to them on the way out, because many of them, as you know, have been attacked by Croatian civilians. Do you apologize to them for that?

[Simonovic] Oh absolutely, and there is no excuse for such behavior. We know that some people were very much emotional and so on, but absolutely that is not the way to react.

[Webb] Will we see prosecutions now of anyone involved in attacking them, and there have been some quite serious incidents, haven't there?

[Simonovic] Well the investigation is still going on, but to see that we are serious concerning rule of law could be witnessed already by the fact that the major personage that was responsible for maltreatment of the Danish battalion of UN units, he is being prosecuted. So the same thing will happen to everyone who violates international law.

[Webb] And if at some stage the war crimes tribunal in The Hague wants to talk to anyone from Croatia, you will offer them up, will you?

[Simonovic] Croatia closely cooperates with the international war crimes tribunal and we absolutely did not have any problems with the tribunal. If I may remind you, on the other hand, Yugoslavia, Serbia and Montenegro refuses to cooperate.

[Webb] Let's talk about Eastern Slavonia now, what's going to happen there, the reality of the situation now is, isn't it, that you are simply not powerful enough to do in Eastern Slavonia what you managed to do in Krajina. In other words, you cannot attack Eastern Slavonia because the Rump Yugoslavia will get involved and you will lose?

[Simonovic] Whether we can or cannot is questionable. The point is we don't want to do it, and we think that we have preconditions now that we will be able to get Eastern Slavonia reintegrated without the need to use force. Force is always a last resort. And in the case of Eastern Slavonia, well, in case that it would be needed then it would be implemented. No one in Croatia can imagine, on a long run, Croatia without having Vukovar included.

[Webb] Is there then a compromise deal involving some degree of autonomy for that region which you can see yourself easing towards now?

[Simonovic] We are absolutely ready for political discussion with local Serbian population in Eastern Slavonia and I hope that that dialogue will start soon. Surely it's also dialogue that includes dialogue with Belgrade and (word indistinct], and probably it's going to be a part of the peace package, which would include not only Eastern Slavonia but the situation in Eastern Europe as a whole.

[Webb] And at the end of the day then, what you would be offering to the Serbian population in Eastern Slavonia is some degree of autonomy?

[Simonovic] Well, already in constitutional law on human rights and minorities in Croatia, there is a provision concerning high level of cultural autonomy for Serbs in Croatia no matter where they live. Well, we could discuss the implementation of constitutional law or any new ideas that might be the ideas of the local Serbian population. But what we do hope is that those peace talks as soon as possible.

[Webb] Is this the moment, do you think, for President Tudjman and President Misolevic to meet?

[Simonovic] We were having a very firm stand that political negotiations are absolutely necessary. The geostrategic situation has changed; the bargaining power of the sides has changed, and now we are witnessing a proliferation of peace initiatives of various sorts—but we do insist that in all possible meetings and discussions the side of Bosnian Herzegovina is included. So, Milosevic, Tudjman, yes, but with Mr Izetbegovic.

[Webb] And that meeting, which would then discuss Bosnia, would talk around the Contact Group Plan, would it, this plan for roughly a 50-50 split, but a plan that would also allow the Serbs of Bosnia to confederate with Serbia proper?

[Simonovic] Well those are things that could be discussed absolutely. Although there are alternatives, there

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are certain differences in different peace proposals, but basically they all are having the same outline.

Martic, Babic on Order To Evacuate Serbs

LD1208124095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 12 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—In a statement to TANJUG today, Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], resolutely and utterly rejected part of a statement put out by RSK Prime Minister Milan Babic in which Babic says that Martic and Lieutenant-Colonel-General Mile Mrskic, commander of the Serb Krajina army, ordered the evacuation of the population.

"I ordered the inhabitants to take cover in nearby villages, but not to leave Krajina," Martic explains. "There was no question of withdrawal of the army."

He says that a leaflet dropped from the air and a fake Radio Knin, which broadcast on completely different frequencies [from those normally used] and which in fact was a Ustasha radio station, caused confusion and disorder among the inhabitants and soldiers.

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Walesa on Election Postponement, Politicians

LD1308151195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has said that the idea of extending his term of office by two years was put forward to him a month ago by Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] This idea reached me when I had a meeting with Prime Minister Oleksy. This was a private meeting, but not entirely. Prime Minister Oleksy presented this idea and asked me about my opinion. I was surprised, because I had also mentioned such ideas but in different situation. If there were parliamentary elections, if there was a kind of stir, as I had strived for parliamentary elections, then, indeed, there would have been no sense in presidential elections before everything settled down. I dismissed the prime minister's suggestion all the same. I did not take up the subject. I told him I would think about it, and I let it go.

[Unidentified correspondent] When Prime Minister Oleksy told you about the idea, did you have the impression that this was his idea?

[Walesa] No, he said this proposal had been put forward by Professor Geremek. This is what he said. I do not know if it was Geremek. I do apologise to Mr. Bronislaw Geremek, but I have to be precise and tell the truth. He told me that this proposal had been presented to him by Geremek. [end recording]

Walesa stressed that he had decided to disclose these facts after statements by certain SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] politicians that suggested that it was he who proposed postponing the elections.

[Begin Walesa recording] Politicians today have no principles. They lie, behave like a bunch of rascals, and do not keep their promises. As a result intellectuals are practicing intellectual surly behavior. What worries me is that the prime minister, former deputy minister Danuta Waniek, and other people are making a sewer of politics, something horrible. I want to oppose this. I am going to disclose such things more often, as those things are not in my line. [end recording]

Oleksy on Controversy

LD1108163295 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0615 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] Radio Zet's guest this morning is Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy. Good morning.

[Oleksey] Good morning.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, who is guilty of causing all this confusion?

[Oleksy] Here we go again—the same subject once again. I still blame this confusion on the atmosphere of the Silly Season. I just hope it ends as soon as possible because the whole sensationalism of this subject sounds as if certain groups are considering the issue with a view to a postponement of the presidential elections, as if a decision is imminent. Meanwhile, the whole issue is as follows: Perhaps somebody said something somewhere or did not say anything...

[Correspondent, interrupting] How did it all begin?

[Oleksy, continuing] ...consequently from now on I am going to avoid making any remarks on this subject. Especially because the head of the government has a lot of other things to do, apart from commenting on subjects that somehow or other concern volatile words.

The elections are to be announced in two or three weeks, and nobody in Poland has any doubts that they are going to be announced, that no postponement of these elections is on the cards. Therefore, I consider politicians' attributing this or that intention to somebody to be a Silly Season game. This is the only way I can describe it.

On the other hand, the president's call to me yesterday was quite ambiguous and slightly aggressive in its undertone because it suggests that it is the prime minister who is the best informed person whom the president publicly asks—this has become a peculiar custom in Poland—to explain something. Additionally he writes, or says, that the prime minister is supposed to clarify all the insinuations.

Well, I absolutely reject such a form of address, because in a week's or a month's time the president may ask me, as head of government, to clarify all the insinuations connected with some international situation. But there is something in that request by the president; it is a pity it was all made public. In conversations with him, I honestly told the president everything I knew about the matter. But there must be some excitement. Hence the manner in which the country's president voices his request.

In my opinion, the whole thing may hinge on the private conversation I held with the president on 13 July, I stress, when we discussed the law on commercialization, the veto, and so on. [passage omitted]

However, I can say this, in all fairness to the president: that during our conversation, he did not put forward any ideas to postpone the elections. He did not put forward any proposals on this issue at all. [passage omitted]

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[Correspondent] Prime Minister, have you discussed the issue of collecting signatures under President Lech Walesa's candidacy with Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski and National Defense Minister Zbigniew] Okonski?

[Oleksy] No, I have not spoken with them about this subject. This is a political matter. I know what people say about this and I find that this issue has much greater importance than elaborations on what others said on other subjects, because in this case we may be facing facts. If things like that take place, then this is a subject of much greater significance from the viewpoint of Poland's democracy in political life.

[Correspondent] When are you going to talk to those ministers about this subject?

[Oleksy] I will most certainly pursue the matter, and will ask for a full explanation of what is happening politically in the Polish Armed Forces, and what further threats there may be in connection with the presidential campaign in attempts to find support and influences. But, I consider myself a prudent person, and I appeal to all people to be prudent. [passage omitted] But I have to say that the issue of collecting signatures in the campaign is bordering on a violation of the law.

[Correspondent] Are you expecting Minister Milczanowski and Minister Okonski to make somebody liable for it?

[Oleksy] Minister Milczanowski has been examining the matter, and as he himself publicly announced, he resolutely opposes such practices. He is to examine it, prepare a report, and take action that in future will prevent the occurrence of such situations. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What is your influence on the so-called presidential ministries?

[Oleksy] This is a subject to which, as far as its model is concerned, we will have to return. I have been trying to make the Polish Government a serious government, and do not want any nuances casting any shadows on its image. [passage omitted]

As far as my influence is concerned, well, I will put it this way: I do not enforce my influence, and that is why my vision of this is incomplete. [passage omitted]

NIK Audits National Bank of Poland

WS1108130895 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by Andrzej Witul: "NBP on All Fours; NIK Lists the Central Bank's Sins"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Inspectors from the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] claim that by saving banks facing the threat of bankruptcy, the National Bank of Poland [NBP] contributed to the growth of the inflation rate in 1994. It has also violated many legal regulations, and the costs of redress procedures often exceeded the indemnity that could have been paid to clients who held savings accounts.*

The majority of funds allocated by NBP to aid banks on the verge of bankruptcy reached private banks that found themselves in a critical condition due to the lack of responsibility and management skills of the boards, supervisory councils, and shareholders, reports NIK. Cooperative banks received a mere 7.5 percent of the total 4 billion 62 million zlotys [Z] the central bank spent.

In projections for the 1994 fiscal policy, the NBP president assured that "the central bank will pay special attention to cooperative banks in which the mounting difficulties pose a threat to the entire banking system." The Sejm pointed out this inconsistency.

Commercial NBP

Redress action taken by NBP in mid-1993 did prevent the collapse of the banking system, but, NIK inspectors claim, they contradicted the principal functions of NBP as the central state bank. As a result of the curative measures taken, NBP involved its own capital in the collapsing banks and became their owner, indirectly taking up commercial activities.

Although NBP is fulfilling its statutory duty of safeguarding the banking system by using the rehabilitation process, NIK claims that saving banks, particularly private ones, with resources generated from an additional currency emmission is permissible only in extreme circumstances. The involvement of NBP's capital and management cadres in the process may undermine the basic functions of the central bank provided for in the NBP law, say the authors of the report.

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Faith in Reports

The effects of the curative measures are a far cry from the projections. Because banks did not fully implement the rehabiltation measures, signed agreements will place NBP under an obligation to further fund these institutions for the next 10 years on a preferential basis, say the NIK inspectors.

Moreover, an investigation has revealed that the condition of the bank, revealed by expert auditors from renowned foreign auditing companies, was generally worse than presented in reports submitted to the Central Board of Banking Audits [GINB]. NIK claims this proves the reports were not adequately verified by the bank auditing services subordinated to the NBP. The practice of relying exclusively on the reports of foreign auditors "undermines the credibility of GINB reports."

At Odds With the Law

The NIK inspection also disclosed that NBP had violated provisions of the banking law, the Code of Administrative Procedures, and Ordinance No. 19/92 issued by the NBP president. An inspection of the files of nine banks that were saved showed that in the case of seven, the decisions on establishing conservership boards [zarzad komisaryczny] did not specify a deadline for completing the rehabiliation projects, which was contrary to the provisions of the banking law.

Moreover, the NBP president approved of rescheduling the establishment of targeting reserves by Gecobank against the provision of Ordinance 19/92 she personally issued. It also turned out that the conservership boards established by NBP implemented irrational fiscal policies and contributed to the banks' losses. The bank auditing services were passive.

On 25 March 1993, a conservership board was established at the Handlowy Merkury SA bank in Poznan. It was to prepare a rehabilitation project for the bank within a month. The project was not developed for a year, and the board's activities caused still higher losses. Operational costs included purchases of huge amounts of food products (and alcohol), bills for restaurant meals, the costs of business travel to Hong Kong and Beijing in search of strategic foreign investors, reimbursement for hotel reservations in Poznan without specifying who the hotel guests were, and rented housing for board members and their advisers.

A Dormant Audit

According to NIK, NBP's supervision of the curative projects was insufficient. The GINB auditors did not react when LBR SA, the bank in charge of the rehabilitation procedures, listed the amount of Z3.151 million as its losses without the knowledge or approval of NBP. No audit was carried out in Interbank SA despite the fact that it was known the bank was in a difficult position. A GINB employee has been heading the conservership board at this bank since July, 1994.

In December 1993, the bank auditing services agreed that Prosper Bank be aided by NBP. This was to allow that bank to regain its cash flow. In September 1994, Prosper Bank's losses grew even further, and GINB stated it was impossible to improve its condition. This was glaringly different from the opinion the board had issued earlier and on the basis of which NBP supplied funding.

NBP Involved

Twelve NBP employees sat on the supervisory boards of four saved banks. Eleven of these employees were from the central bank's headquarters. From October 1993 to March 1994, nine of them received remuneration for the functions they performed, in addition to the salaries they earned at NBP. According to NIK, the membership of NBP employees on the supervisory boards of the banks was at the cost of their basic duties. Moreover, their presence put members of the auditing services in an ambiguous position.

Bank Head Refutes NIK Charges

WS1108133595 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 10

[Article by "K.J.": "NIK Report: NBP President Refutes Charges"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP], refutes the charges brought against the central bank by the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. "The report is unprofessional. It looks like it was developed in a centrally planned economy," said the NBP president on WIADOMOSCI [main tv newscast] yesterday.*

Last week NIK published a report on how NBP saved collapsing private banks. It stated that the projected targets were not attained.

NBP's president claims that subsidizing banks that were on the verge of bankruptcy was necessary. "The report does not contain a single simulation showing what could have happened had all those banks collapsed, whether we would have had the so-called domino effect and how much money the state, depositors and economic subjects could have lost," she said. Gronkiewicz-Waltz

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said she cannot rule out that those subjects which that have gone bankrupt due to losing all their bank deposits would have stopped paying taxes.

The NBP president reminded that in 1992-93 Poland was endangered by a grave banking crisis. "In 1992 I began warning all the top state authorities—the speakers of the Sejm and Senate, the prime minister, and the president—that the situation was very serious. Unfortunately, no one seemed interested at the time. We had to take full responsibility for everything, although normally governments are also involved in such activity," she said.

Gronkiewicz-Waltz claims charges brought up by NIK claiming that curative projects in the bankrupt banks have not been implemented are premature, because the majority were laid down for a period of 15 years.

Gronkiewicz-Waltz says it is not true that employees of the bank auditing services sat on boards of the collapsing banks.

The bank president also refuted the NIK charge claiming that employees of the central bank sitting on some of the boards of the collapsing banks were in a dubious position because, in her belief, reforms in these banks were successful. "If NIK does not understand that, that means it wants us to pick people for the supervisory boards off the streets instead of employing people who work for us and who can be held responsible for their actions," said the NBP president.

She also explained that one of the reasons more capital was provided for the banks than projected—a charge NIK also raised—was the need to salvage huge state deposits in private banks.

Exporters Lobby for U.S. Customs Preferences

WS1408074495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 13

[Article by Jacek Pawlicki: "Poland-United States: Trade Without Preferences?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The General System of Preferences [GSP], which allowed us to send more than 40 percent of our exports duty-free to the United States, expired last week.*

There were problems with prolonging the GSP in 1994, but they were settled in our favor. This time, the pressure we exert on Washington may meet with resistance from the Congress. "We are optimistic, albeit reserved," says Marek Kloczko, secretary general of the National Chamber of Commerce [KIG], which has launched overseas efforts to reinstate the GSP. "We have to do everything possible, but we do not know whether we will succeed," adds Eugeniusz Olczak, expert on the U.S. market in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation [MWGzZ].

The United States as the Trading Carrot

The GSP was introduced by the U.S. Government more than 20 years ago. Preferences are unilaterally granted by the U.S. Congress to developing countries, and Poland was endowed with customs preferences in the early 1990s. GSP beneficiaries include 50 states worldwide. Those in Central-East Europe are, among others, the Czechs, Hungarians, and Slovaks.

The "Polish" GSP list contains mainly food and agricultural produce, alcohol, raw materials, semifinished products, and low-processed industrial goods. Each year the list is altered. Problems with prolonging the GSP occur. In 1994, the preference system was suspended for three months, and our exporters were reimbursed for the customs they paid once it was reinstated.

The Calm Before the Storm

Polish exporters are not raising a storm about the suspension of the GSP as yet. "It is too early to assess the effects of lifting the customs reliefs," says Irena Majcherczyk from the Agricultural Exports Bureau at Agros. Moreover, it is the summer holiday season. Besides, the majority of exporters quietly hope that the preferences will be restored.

Because competition on the U.S. market is fierce, the suspension of customs duties allowed us to export goods near a break-even point. Once the duties have to be paid, they can forget about sales to the United States.

Experts do not hide that without the GSP in place U.S. sales, worth approximately $600 million, will "take a beating." Those who are likely to sustain the largest losses are exporters of sweets, alcohol, crystal, household products, furniture, iron castings, wire and silver and amber jewelry. Producers of untypical goods—such as chaises or clay products—are also at risk. The list of companies eligible for the customs preferences include a chaise manufacturer from Zbroslawice and Air Design Studio, an exporter of clay figurines.

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Integrated Lobbying

The KIG launched a lobbying campaign several days ago (the chamber issues certificates of the origins of the goods, which are required for exports within the GSP). Through the friendly U.S. Chamber of Commerce, it appealed to the Congressional committees to reinstate the preferences. By 13 August KIG is to send a special report to the United States showing the U.S. congressmen how huge Poland's losses may be.

According to Eugeniusz Olczak from MWGzZ, the reinstitution of GSP closely depends on the U.S. budget battle. "If money is found for the GSP, the preferences will be restored," he says.

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Article Criticizes U.S. Support of Croatia

AU1408082795 Bucharest ROMANIA MARE in Romanian 11 Aug 95 pp 1, 9

[Editorial signed ROMANIA MARE: "The United States Has Opened a 'Vietnam Ltd.' in the Balkans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For four years we have been cautioning that the policy promoted by the West in former Yugoslavia is a CRIMINAL [as published] one.

For four years we have been cautioning that a handful of professional assassins, disguised as politicians, have nothing else in mind but to punish and exterminate the Serbian nation.

For four years we have been cautioning that the United Nations has become a pitiable marionette handled by the villains of history, who use blood-stained scissors to carve out a new and insane world order.

Unfortunately, today the irreparable has happened! In a shameless and scandalous way, the great powers, Germany and the United States, have definitively and openly turned the balance in favor of the Croatians and Muslims, and against the Serbs. To be frank, Germany's attitude does not surprise us: As overwhelming as German culture is, just as primitive and rude has been its policy in this century. It would suffice to evoke merely the two world wars, both triggered by it, or the massacres ordered by Hitler. The emergence in 1991 of a gigantic state in the middle of Europe, with a population exceeding 80 million and bestowed with immeasurable economic strength, shook the tectonic plates of a Europe crumbling under various diseases and sterile struggles. Almost instantaneously, as if it had been an effect of the "monster's birth," two of the countries that had been reunited during the fiery year of 1918 broke apart: Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Romania's dismembering was also tried assiduously, but the latter's situation was a different one: While the former two states had a federative nature from the very beginning, the Romanian state has always been and will always remain a unitary national state.

The presence these days of German federal troops on the territory of Yugoslavia, exactly 50 years after the conclusion of World War II and the crushing of Hitler's war machine, is the most typical illustration, on a planetary scale, of the saying: "The murderer always returns to the scene of the crime." We were all happy and greeted the reunification of Germany. However, if such is the price in blood and tears that mankind has to pay for it, perhaps it would have been better if Germany would have remained as it used to be before, namely split up and weak, because the way it is now, it is solely up to bad things. The ghost of German Nazism came alive again and is haunting the old people's homes, hospitals, schools, railway stations, maternity hospitals, churches, and cemeteries of former Yugoslavia. But the same thing is happening in Hanover as well, if one is to judge from the extraordinary violence that broke out recently between the punks and the police forces there. Despite the fact that we have different opinions on very many issues, we are happy to be able to point out the similarity in our points of view regarding this issue with Nobel Prize laureate Elie Wiesel, namely that Germany has no business at all, armed with guns, tanks, and war planes, in former Yugoslavia, a country where it left behind hundreds of thousands of graves, and nothing else but ashes, ruins, and pain.

If in the case of Germany we did not cherish too many illusions, we find the stance displayed by the United States absolutely incomprehensible. What is the White House aiming to achieve by this irrational embracing of the Croatian-Muslim cause and by being against the Serbs? Does it perhaps wish to reward the Arab countries and Turkey for their obedience in not daring to utter a word during the Gulf war? Or is it perhaps a kind of a barter between the Middle East and the Balkans, that is, in exchange for aggressive Israeli militarism, are the Muslims being offered satisfaction right in the heart of Christian Europe? Or perhaps is it rather a billiard-like stroke actually intended to hit at the other Orthodox-religion Slavic nation in this region, that is, the Russians? Or who knows, it could well be that again we are dealing with the consequences of the delayed and blurred image on the basis of which U.S. diplomacy is always acting, as if wishing to confirm the humorous opinion about them, namely that "Americans are big babies." Well, they may be big babies, but Roosevelt did not refrain from knowingly letting the Pearl Harbor fleet fall prey to the Japanese, merely out of his contemptible calculation to provoke a certain reaction among American public opinion and make it enthusiastically consent to his plans to go to war. They may be big babies, but they sold us out, the way they sell cattle, at Yalta. They may be big babies, but back in August 1945 they knew how to wipe out two Japanese cities within just a few seconds, thus inaugurating the era of the nuclear holocaust. And so it happens that exactly 20 years after the conclusion of the Vietnam war, on the very day when their old wound began to heal under the plaster of the new U.S. Embassy in Hanoi, the Americans deemed it a pretty good idea to open another "Vietnam Ltd." in the Balkans. Just like that, so that they would have a range to test their weapons, as a drilling field where they do not have to fiddle around with dummy cartridges, but rather use genuine ammunition. As a pretext, so that once more they could return home, covered with glory, under a rain of confetti, while the

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band plays Sousa marches, all of which can only result in further stars being added to the epaulets of some of their military leaders. What business the Americans have here, in the Balkans, on such a disgraceful mission no one can logically explain!

Does the United States really believe, with all its naiveness, that it has taken over the role of the Roman Empire and that it is destined to rule the world? Does Uncle Sam cherish the illusion that it has taken the place of God on this Earth and that the ignorant nations have no other choice than to keep throwing themselves before him in the dust of the road and humbly cross themselves, or perish instantly, the way Hiroshima and Nagasaki did? Should the latter be the case, the Americans should not wonder why God periodically inflicts aching Biblical punishments on them: earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, fires, explosions, and so on. For there is nothing God hates more than arrogance. How sad to see this glorious and righteous nation, which went down in history with the Bible in its hands, oppressing the needy!

Today it is too late for philosophical reflections. Encouraged by the revolting helping hand of the Germans and Americans, in a war quick as a "storm," Croatia pulverized the Serbian enclave Krajina, the way thieves operate, sneaking at night. Both Croatia and Hungary are fascist states, as proved by their revisionist, intolerant, and inhumane policy. Catholic religion, in the hands of such states, becomes a tool that spreads death. In the middle of the night Franjo Tudjman, a general of their old secret service, goes out in the street to drink champagne to celebrate the rapes and atrocities perpetrated by the descendants of Ante Pavelic, the one who 50 years ago used to have around him baskets filled with the eyes removed from the skulls of his adversaries. We carefully examined Tudjman's glass: It was not filled with champagne—it was blood. This individual is a "mass criminal" and it is he that should be wanted by the Hague court, rather than the Serb poet Radovan Karadzic. Why? Here is the answer, given by the UN special envoy, the Japanese Yasushi Akashi: "It is a genuine tragedy that the Croatian attack came precisely at the moment when a solution to the conflict began clearly to take shape." Croatia has systematically violated all embargoes and kept arming itself day and night, despite which the West never placed it under sanctions. However, in the past four years the very same West has been odiously policing Romania, trying to prevent, heaven forbid, that a bottle of lamp oil or a canister of gas should be taken across the Danube River to the Serbs. Besides, Croatia has also done something that no one in the civilized world would allow oneself to do, violating the elementary rules of any war, as established by Clausewitz: It used Danish "Blue Helmets" and Serbian prisoners as live human shields, forcing them to advance in the front line, ahead of its killer troops. And no one put it under sanctions. Croatia is also busy with ethnic cleansing, so that now 200,000 Krajina Serbs, who had been living there for generations, since time immemorial, are forced to go into exile, in the August heat, without any water, food, or medicine. However, the United States and Germany keep silent, as this was part of the plan. There would be very many other things to be said.

However, human tragedies occur silently and they speak for themselves—there is no need to put pen to paper to describe them. All of mankind is helplessly witnessing the execution, cutting into pieces, and mincing Yugoslavia, a flourishing country not so long ago. Who is profiting from such genocide? What is the lesson we Romanians should learn from this funeral-like lecture? What is this NATO that we are so eagerly rushing to join, like ignorant lambs squeezing through the pass of wolves? If things continue to go on like this, the nations of the world will not ask themselves who will protect them from the Russians, but rather—such is the situation—who will protect them from NATO?! Pandora's box, opened in 1989 in Malta by Bush and Gorbachev, the two agents infected by the AIDS virus of history, is now spreading destruction. The cycle of the 20th century is closing just perfectly: it opened and will conclude with the Balkans on fire. Fat as a head of sauerkraut (Kohl means cabbage in German), the German chancellor is pulling an odious act. Neither does the baby wearing oversize shoes, his forehead like that of a suckling, and who plays the saxophone, Bill Clinton, give any sign that he might blush. Hungary, like a bloodthirsty hyena, lies in ambush. "Heroic and martyr Serbia," as Nicolae Iorga termed it in his homage in 1915, is mourning its dead sons, its sun down at half mast. The West, however, does not know the Serbs well enough! They have not said their last word yet. A nation that managed to keep at bay Hitler and Stalin, the two principal hangmen of the 20th century, might very well stuff the sauerkraut into the saxophone so that instead of playing music, the latter will rather sound like the pitiful bray of a donkey.... Nations of the world, you, Germans, and Americans, and Frenchmen, and Russians, and Spaniards, and Englishmen, and Japanese, and Chinese, and Arabs: Wake up! "The sick people ruling us" are getting us in great trouble!

PRM Blames Western Powers for Yugoslav War

AU1108183495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 11 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Greater Romania Party [PRM] considers that the entire historical responsibility

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for the war in former Yugoslavia lies with the Western powers and the United Nations, stated Mr. Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the president of the PRM, during today's news conference.

He also stressed that, quote, the Romanians have to learn from the Yugoslav lesson that any ethnic separatism and any dictate of the type 1201 [Council of Europe Recommendation 1201] can be a breeding ground for political and moral infection, and that the West does not play a fair game, its absolute and arbitrary power being a peril for the very future of mankind, unquote.

Talking about other issues, Mr. Tudor said that the PRM has requested the commencement of penal investigations against Messrs. Petre Roman, Adrian Severin, and Adrian Sarbu, whom they accuse of having caused losses worth at least $300,000 to the Romanian state, an amount which was paid to certain U.S. companies to polish Romania's international image, informs our reporter Teodor Stanciu.

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Federal

Jovanovic Warns of 'Armed Provocations' by Croatia

LD1308173695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1624 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 13 August (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic today sent a letter to Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, calling for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council in order to stop Croatia's offensive operations against UN protected zones.

The following is the text of the letter:

"Despite all agreements, the efforts by the UN peace-keeping forces, the UN Security Council presidential statements, and the activities of the Contact Group and heads of the leading world countries designed to help end hostilities and renew the peace process, the Armed Forces of Croatia have continued their provocation and offensive operations:

"—On 12 August 1995, they resumed their offensive operations along the entire separation line in the UN protected zone Sector East, especially around Osijek, where they have been opening incessant fire from infantry weapons and mortar.

"—On 12 August, in the region of Trebinje, regular units of the Croatian army repeatedly carried out artillery fire against the [Bosnian] Serb Republic army.

"—On 12 August, from the region of Dunava Krajnja [Pelinovo Brdo], Croatian army troops used mortar to shell the Army of Yugoslavia facilities—that is, the observation point in the regions of Debela Ljut and Kozen Do [western Montenegro along border with Croatia].

"—At the same time, regular troops of the Croatian army continue their joint operations with Muslim units along the entire front.

"It can be seen from the above that Croatia, in addition to carrying out aggression against UN protected zones, Sector North and Sector South, destroying property, and mistreating the innocent civilian population, is not giving up its aggressive actions in the zone of UN Sector East [Eastern Slavonia]. Its provocations culminated when the Croatian army started artillery actions against facilities on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

"By these military activities, Croatia has continued pursuing the policy of force and its orientation toward war and aggression.

"It is high time the international community, primarily the United Nations, through the Security Council and with help from the forces of peace, take energetic steps and force Croatia to halt its aggressive actions in the UN protected zones and its armed provocations against FRY.

"The FRY has remained committed to peace and a negotiated solution; it has been making huge efforts not to be forced to retaliate against Croatian provocations. Therefore, we believe that urgent and decisive steps will be taken to halt the Croatian aggressive policy and to create conditions for returning to the peace process.

"We are calling on you, Mr. Akashi, to do everything to force Croatia to halt the hostilities and observe agreements, including your demand through United Nations Secretary General Butrus-Ghali for an urgent meeting of the Security Council, which would examine and condemn Croatia's aggressive actions and adopt measures to halt such aggressive conduct in the future."

Foreign Minister on Krajina Serb Refugees

MS1408103795 London BBC Television Network in English 0715 GMT 13 Aug 95

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbian Foreign Minister, by presenter Justin Webb; Jovanovic in Belgrade, Webb in London; from the "Breakfast with Frost" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Webb] Eastern Slavonia first, is there the making of a solution there that says to the local Serb population—you will receive a degree of autonomy, though you will be inside Croatia. Could you accept that?

[Jovanovic] We consider so-called Eastern Slavonia is an integral part of the republic of Krajina, and that republic which enjoyed, and we still consider that it still enjoys the protection of UN, is to start negotiation with Zagreb on the ways of the so-called [?Contact Group] plan. So only that negotiation between two sides can reach one accommodating solution. The way Croatia chose, the way of aggression, intimidation, expulsion of Serbs from the larger part of Serbs Krajina is not a way that can be recommended.

[Webb] So you would welcome then, would you, what we've just been hearing from, which is that Zagreb wants now to have a political dialogue with local Serbs, with Serbs who live in Eastern Slavonia, and that is where the solution will be found, between those two sides?

[Jovanovic] Croatia is still committed to having talks with the representatives of Krajina Serbs as a whole, as

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it was proposed by Mr Stoltenberg [UN Peace negotiator], but unfortunately Croatia has disrupted these talks, preferring to make military action, aggression against the Serbs, and this reflects the main strategic line of Croatia vis-a-vis Serbs living in Krajina and Croatia as a whole, which is to achieve a Croatia without Serbs. The so-called reintegration of Krajina territories Croatia understands as reintegration of territories but without Serbs.

[Webb] We've just heard one of the assistant foreign ministers in Zagreb saying that he was sorry that all those people had to leave, those are hollow words, are they?

[Jovanovic] You know, since the inception of the Croatian state five years ago, the only political line with which Croatia has been, and still is very consistent, is the line to get rid of Serbs from Croatia itself. More than 350,000 Serbs, so-called loyal Serbs living inside Croatia, were drove from Croatia as a result of the policy of anti-Serb hysteria, intimidation, firing from droves, and so on. The same policy has been pursued vis-a-vis the Krajina Serbs. The May operation against Western Slavonia was a lesson, a public lesson to Serbs and the international community that Croatia requests territory and not Serbs.

[Webb] Mr Jovanovic can we turn now to what is happening to those refugees from Krajina when they get to Serbia. There are reports that some of them at least are being sent to live in Kosovo, potentially altering the ethnic balance of that part of your country. What is happening—are you intending to send an awful lot of these refugees to Kosovo, and if so, are you not worried that it will change the ethnic balance and create potential difficulties in the future?

[Jovanovic] The notion of ethnic cleansing, known as a ethnically pure Kosovo, which should be reserved for Kosovo Albanians only, has been created by Kosovo-Albanian separatists some 15 years ago, so their main goal is to clean Kosovo from any Serbian element and thus justify their claim that Kosovo should get independence as a prelude to joining Albania. So the language of ethnic cleansing is not the language which Kosovo-Albanian separatists can use.

[Webb] So you are going to deliberately boost the Serbian population of Kosovo?

[Jovanovic] There are hundreds of thousands of Serbs from Kosovo who have been victims of the policy of ethnic cleansing since the beginning of the Second World War and in the post-war period as well. Only some years ago that policy of expelling Serbs from Kosovo was stopped by a decision of the Serbian Government. Now we have to face tremendous tragedy of Serbs, the victims of Croatian aggression, coming to Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia has a terrible burden. We try to share this burden on all parts of Yugoslavian Serbia...

[Webb, interrupting] The suspicion will be that the burden will fall on particularly Muslims of what is now Yugoslavia, the Rump Yugoslavia, and that those people will have to leave their homes to make way for the Serbs from Krajina, is that going to happen?

[Jovanovic] It's not true at all, this is a very false propaganda of Albanian separatists. The right way for them to do it is to extend hospitality to those less unfortunate people and thus demonstrate their really people orientated toward coexistence and communal life with Serbs and other people of living in that integral part of Serbian Yugoslavia.

[Webb] Mr Jovanovic can I ask you finally about Dr Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb Leader. What future does he have?

[Jovanovic] It will depend on his policy and the policy of other factors in Bosnia itself, not only local ones, but foreign as well. We would like to see Mr Karadzic face reality as we have advised him to do since two years ago, in order to allow—to free communities, plus international communities achieve one compromising political solution. We still believe that the Contact Group Plan is enough good political flavor for searching and achieving that solution.

Possible Options for Novi Sad Corps Examined

AU1008154495 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 3

[Article by Zoran Lukic and Nik Kotej: "After They Have Completely Broken Knin Krajina, Croatian Elite Troops Will Attack Eastern Slavonia, Which Could Result in a General Serbo-Croatian War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian "Storm," the blitzkrieg operation for the conquest of Knin Krajina, will not be finished this week, as stated by Ivan Tolj, the spokesman of the Croatian army. Croatian armed forces will, after the fall of this part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, move "Storm" to eastern Slavonia and try to reintegrate all of the disputed territories the Republic of Croatia lost four years ago, TELEGRAF learned from sources close to the Yugoslav Army.

The coming attack of the Croatian elite units on eastern Slavonia, units that broke the defense of Knin surprisingly easily and quickly, forced the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army to strengthen the Novi Sad Corps, whose zone of responsibility has included eastern

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Slavonia, at least until the beginning of the Croatian offensive on Krajina. Thus, one armored brigade of the Yugoslav Army was sent to Sid, and, in the army barracks "Stevica Jovanovic" in Pancevo, 26,000 mobilization citations for reserve units were signed. They will be sent to the Novi Sad Corps as war reinforcements.

As TELEGRAF has learned, the mobilization citations will mostly be given to Hungarians, Slovaks, Rusins, and members of other minorities, because there are concerns, as our sources claim, that they could be problematic groups if they were left behind the back of the Novi Sad Corps. In this way, this elite corps will have over 35,000 men, strengthened with two armored brigades, and the reserve units of the Yugoslav Army Air Forces have also been prepared.

At this moment, it is not even known in the well-informed circles of the Yugoslav Army whether the Novi Sad Corps will uncompromisingly defend eastern Slavonia because that would mean the beginning of a great Serbo-Croatian war or even a Balkan war. Such a decision must be brought by the political leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which at this moment is far from certain.

At the moment, there are speculations on three options for the possible reaction of the Novi Sad Corps in case of a Croatian attack on eastern Slavonia. The first one: The Yugoslav Army will only secure the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and, in that regard, they will help the units of the Republic of Serbian Krajina logistically—and may God help them. The second: The Yugoslav Army will fight for the "just definition" of the borders between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, meaning that, unless a political Serbo-Croatian agreement is reached, the Novi Sad Corps will fight for some parts of eastern Slavonia, and it will leave some of it to the Republic of Croatia. The third: The Novi Sad Corps will defend the entire territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina in eastern Slavonia, at the price of starting a general Serbo-Croatian war.

Judging by the disposition and the developments in the Yugoslav Army, the most probable option is the first one because, as our sources claim, in the army commands of the Yugoslav Army, among the officers, there is apathy because of the indifference of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's political and military leadership. None of the responsible "soldiers" have ever explained to the officers of the Yugoslav Army the attitudes of the Yugoslav leadership toward the furious Croatian conquests in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

True, at the end of last week, the 1st Army of the Yugoslav Army (the most significant military formation in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) was ordered to shift to combat readiness and summon officers to return from their vacations, but recently that order has been suspended, and the 1st Army returned to its peacetime level of readiness. Combat readiness is still valid only for the Novi Sad Corps and some units of the Yugoslav Army in Montenegro, situated near the front.

As for the mass mobilization of reservists in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is only partly true. Reserve police units have been mobilized because more than 20,000 people from Krajina, members of the Serbian Ministry of Interior, were returned to the Serbian Republic. The "veterans" who in the past four years participated in the wars in the Serbian Republic and the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and reserve units of some special troops of the Yugoslav Army, in the first place army police have also been mobilized. The real mobilization is only to come soon, when 26,000 appeals "come" from the Pancevo barracks, or if Yugoslavia decides to "mess things up" for the Croatian Army.

Serbia

Refugee Situation, Eviction of Croats Viewed

AU1108200395 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 11 Aug 95

[Report by Ruzica Vranjkovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The position of the Serbian Government is that all refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] who arrive in Serbia will be provided for, Minister [of Transport and Communications] Aleksa Jokic, president of the headquarters for the receipt of refugees, said at a news conference at the international press center.

Jokic emphasized that taking care of the refugees is a difficult and major task and, at the same time, a national problem. For that reason, the Serbian Government has activated all of its potential and taken measures to provide for these people as quickly, as expertly, and as efficiently as possible.

Examining the reason for this unprecedented exodus, the Serbian Government concluded that full responsibility lies with the leaderships of the Serb Republic and the RSK.

Minister Jokic also presented the latest figures about the number of refugees.

[Begin Jokic recording] We estimate that some 260,000 refugees and exiled persons will enter Serbia and Yugoslavia. So far, some 80,000 people have crossed the

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border with Yugoslavia. This is the figure for the situation before 1100 [0900 GMT] today. We estimate that there are some 120,000 people on the way from Banja Luka toward our border and border crossings and toward Bijeljina. On the roads leading from the direction of Prijedor, Sanski Most, Dubica, Kostajnica, and Petrovac to Banja Luka, there are approximately 50,000 people who wish to enter Yugoslavia. Apart from this number, approximately 30,000 people expelled from the RSK are finding accommodation on the territory of the Serb Republic in the Banja Luka region. Among those people there, the fate of some 10,000 exhausted people is the most pressing issue, the one that is singled out. [end recording]

The transport of the refugees is proceeding with great difficulty and slowly. For that reason, an air link between Belgrade and Banja Luka should be established as quickly as possible. We have reached an agreement with the Serb Republic to lift the blockade of the roads, and 50 buses have been sent to Banja Luka today to transport women and children.

We opened another three border crossings yesterday—Sepak, Karakaj, and Batrovac—thus bringing the total number to five. To make the receipt of the refugees as good as possible, there are medical teams and first aid teams at all border crossings.

The Serbian Government also drafted a plan of accommodation for the refugees throughout the territory of the Republic, taking into consideration the refugees' professions. Because the majority of them have tractors with them, they will be allowed to start working as soon as possible. They will be accommodated all over Serbia. Those who have relatives will arrive in Belgrade. Orphans will get special accommodation and treatment. Minister Jokic emphasized that nobody was being turned back at the border.

Reporters wanted to know whether reports that the owners of houses who are FRY citizens of Croatian ethnicity are being evicted forcefully and the refugees moved into them were correct. In his reply, Minister Jokic said that there had been individual cases. However, the incumbent officers had intervened resolutely and would continue to do so in the future. There is no discrimination and there shall be none on an ethnic or any other basis. [passage omitted]

Border To Be Closed to Soldiers, RS Refugees

AU1208162995 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 95

[Interview with Aleksa Jokic, head of the Refugee Headquarters and Serbian Government minister, by Radio Novi Sad correspondent Zarko Figic "this morning in Belgrade"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Figic] The Refugee Headquarters for accommodating refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] held a meeting in Belgrade (?this morning). [Words indistinct] Minister Aleksa Jokic presided. Mr. Jokic, according to your information [words indistinct]?

[Jokic] The information is correct, and we have accommodated all of the refugees; they have now been directed to their final destination points according to the plan drawn up by the Refugee Commissariat on the suggestion of the Serbian Government.

[Figic] Mr. Minister, can you tell us [changes thought] you said at yesterday's news conference that the situation is particularly dire in Banja Luka and that the Serbian Government is trying to help the people there.

[Jokic] I would like to address the situation in Banja Luka and the Serb Republic [RS] and the refugees from the RS. We have noticed that, along with refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina, for various reasons that I do not wish to comment on, we also have people coming in from the RS. They are joining the refugee columns without any reason whatsoever and are trying to cross into Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. We shall prevent this. There is not a single reason for any RS citizen to cross over into Serbia or the FRY as a refugee. The RS exists, functions, its authorities function. Therefore, all of the citizens are cared for. All those who actually wish to abuse the exodus of people from the RSK and somehow profit from it [changes thought] we shall stop them at the border crossings.

I would like to use this opportunity, your program that the citizens are probably listening to in their cars or homes, to stress that the Serbian and FRY border is only open to endangered people—children, the elderly, and women from the RSK. The procedure has been maximally shortened. We have opened four border crossings and a fifth one on the highway. They are being fully provided for with humanitarian aid [words indistinct] and so forth. Draftees from the RSK cannot cross over into FRY—that is, Serbia. Changes and [words indistinct] on the front—that is, on the disengagement lines between the RS Army—the RSK Army and the Croat and Muslim armies imply that our units are on the offensive and that they need troops. These people will be turned back; they must do their part of the job. None of them [words indistinct] family members will be taken care of, their children, wives, and parents. They are in our republic, Yugoslavia. Our people and our authorities are taking care of them,

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therefore, there is no reason for them to cross the border at all. We initially allowed draftees to cross together with their families because of the dramatic situation. However, there is no longer any reason for this.

Therefore, draftees who have settled their families and have seen that the Republics of Serbia and Yugoslavia are caring for the Serbs that have arrived in such dramatic circumstances will be returned [words indistinct] to protect the borders of the RS, to lend support to their fellow troops who are fiercely fighting in Banija and Kordun, and to save the population that is now encircled. Finally, I [words indistinct] refugees from the RS will not be received in Serbia and Yugoslavia because there is no reason to create a refugee wave from the RS.

Refugee Official Says Border Crossings Operating

AU1308205095 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed viewers, the Extraordinary Staff of the Government of the Republic of Serbia for Accommodating Refugees from the Republic of Serbian Krajina has just concluded its session. We have a telephone statement by the staff chairman, Aleksa Jovic. Let us hear it:

[Jokic] The republican staff has concluded its session this evening, and the latest data are that the border of the Republic of Serbia and the Federation has so far been crossed by 113,117 refugees. These are official data, and all other data that give a smaller number of refugees—that is, that do not tally with this number—are because not all people who cross the border register with the Red Cross.

We have assessed that all services, humanitarian services and the state bodies, have been fully performing their duties and that all people who have crossed the border have been accommodated and sent from the gathering points to the places meant for them. There is full coordination between all governmental organizations and bodies, so we have no problems with these issues.

A problem has been noticed at the border crossings of Badovinci, Raca, and Badrovac. There has been information here that these border crossings are closed. This information is false. What is involved is the following: The position of the Staff of the Republic of Serbia is that people from the Serbian Republic do not need to seek refugee status in Serbia. This is why certain problems occurred. These problems have been overcome, so these border crossings are fully operational, and, as for the columns that formed during the past hours, when these people trying to cross the border blocked it and made it impossible for our border bodies to work, that has been coordinated. We expect that refugee columns will cross the border during the night and that, according to the plan drafted by the commission and verified by the staff, they will be sent to the reception points and further to places where they will be temporarily accommodated. Therefore, things are being kept absolutely under control, so there are no major problems.

As for the Badrovac border crossing, a column of our refuges has been cut off because of a decision made by the Croatian authorities. We have contact with the United Nations, and it is obliged to keep us fully informed.

Party Leaders Arrested After Pro-Krajina Rally

AU1408072895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Aug 95 p 16

[Article by D. Petrovic: "Jovic, Paroski, and Vlahovic Disappeared Without a Trace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Mirko Jovic, chairman of the Serbian National Renewal [SNO], Milan Paroskic, leader of the National Party [NS], and Jovica Vlahovic, commander of the Danube Blockade Staff, as well as many more demonstrators, members of SNO and the NS, were arrested the night before yesterday, after the rally "Serbs, Assemble!," held on the Square of the Republic. As we have already reported, about 2,000 participants in the rally set out at 2100 for the building of the Serbian Assembly, where they threw stones and broke several windows. Led by Jovic, Paroski, and Vlahovic, the demonstrators rained stones on the buildings of the German and U.S. Embassies on Knez Milos Street, after which strong police forces dispersed them. In the clash with police, the leader of the NS was injured, and most probably it was then that the three leaders were put under arrest. We say most probably because, by yesterday evening, that was not officially confirmed by either SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs] Belgrade ("We are not in charge of that, call MUP [Interior Ministry]") or the Serbian MUP.

AT the SNO, nobody knows anything about the fate of their chairman and several members. As Mira Boric, secretary of the party, told us, the night before last, at about 1900, Jovic left the party's headquarters and went to the Square of the Republic. Since then, nothing has been known about him. According to Boric, Milorad Bastaja, chief of security, Dejan Nikolic, chief of White Eagles [a Serb nationalist paramilitary group], and Ivana Raicevic, a member of the SNO youth organization, are also missing. It is suspected that among the missing there are even more SNO members, whereas Boric by yesterday evening did not manage to get information

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from MUP of Serbia about what happened—not even with the help of lawyer Veljko Guberina.

In the NS—the same situation. Mr. Zoran Krstulovic told us that neither party officials nor the family knew where Paroski was. He was not hospitalized, nor was he examined at any of the Belgrade hospitals, and he was seen for the last time in front of the U.S. Embassy, when two civilians were pushing him into a car. We were told that Zoran Milunovic, deputy chairman of the NS, had most probably been arrested or taken in an unknown direction as well. It is claimed that, as he was being captured, both sides were brandishing weapons. "MUP officials have refused to give us any information," Krstulovic says.

According to information released by the U.S. Embassy, 15 windows on the building of this diplomatic mission and several security cameras were damaged, and demonstrators pulled off the name plate at the entrance gate. Jovic, however, did not succeed in taking off the U.S. coat of arms.

[Box, p 16]

The night before last, at about 2400, according to eyewitness statements, strong police forces surrounded the Square of the Republic and arrested several people, most of them demonstrators taking part in the rally. Journalist Oliver Markovic, author of the book *Who's Who in the Serbian Republic*, was arrested as well, while Drasko Markovic, assembly deputy of the Radicals, invoked his immunity. It is claimed that even accidental passers-by were being arrested, like, for instance, an ice-cream seller who at the time was just closing his shop.

Kosovo

Rugova Speaks Against Resettling Serbian Refugees

AU1408115995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 12 August carries on pages one and three a 1,500-word report by Behxhet Haliti on a news conference given by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, "president of the Republic of Kosovo," in Prishtina on 11 August, entitled: "The Settlement of Serbian Refugees in Kosovo—A Most Dangerous Provocation."

Rugova is reported as saying, "We appeal to the international community and the great powers to exert pressure on the Serbian regime and not to permit the settlement in Kosovo of several thousand Serbian refugees from Croatia, as the Serbian regime has itself announced, because this is a manipulation of these people's misfortune. The Serbian regime has so far forcibly settled here about 5,000 refugees who did not themselves wish to come to Kosovo, and, on the other hand, has not allowed the Albanian refugees in the West to return to their own homes. The Serbian regime, while misusing the misfortunes of these people, wishes to carry out its age-old plans for the colonization of Kosovo. Its warning of the settlement of Serbian refugees is one of its most dangerous mass provocations in Kosovo, alongside the systematic violence and repression that has been perpetrated here for the past five years. Kosovo is one of the most densely populated states in Europe. The Serbian regime is announcing the settlement of refugees in student dormitories, hotels, and schools. We hereby call on the Serbs of Kosovo and the imposed Serbian administration to think again because the settlement of refugees would be a very bad thing for them, too. At the same time, we ask the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to exert pressure to prevent these refugees from being settled here."

The report continues: "President Rugova went on to welcome the most recent U.S. initiative for a political solution in the Balkans, brought to Europe by U.S. National Security Adviser Anthony Lake and Assistant Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff. We also ask the international community, Rugova said, to reward the peaceful resistance in Kosovo and the contribution to stability made in Kosovo and the region because our movement is paid for daily by the sacrifices of the Albanians. The president also reminded the international community that Kosovo used to be a federal unit in the former Yugoslavia, with the right of representation and a veto like all of the other units. The international community should recognize the new reality in Kosovo, the way life is organized and how Albanian political resistance is continuing."

The report continues, "Asked by a journalist to comment on the most recent events in Croatia, President Rugova replied that the most important thing now is that civilians should not suffer and that the international community is working to find a political solution to all of the problems of the former Yugoslavia. We have always sought an overall political solution for all of the problems of the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo.

"Asked by a journalist for the lessons that might be drawn from events in Croatia, President Rugova said that the lessons are tragic and that we have for a long time been warning that such things might happen, as they happened before in Bosnia and Croatia, and in Kosovo, where the Albanians have been suffering systematic repression for years.

"Another question was whether Rugova expected Kosovo to be included in the latest U.S. initiative for a solution to the problems of the Balkans. The president of the Republic of Kosovo said that he believes and is

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convinced that Kosovo, too, is in the new U.S. plan for solving the problems of the Balkans."

Asked what the Albanian political movement could do to prevent the settlement of Serbian refugees, Rugova is reported as saying, "We will be careful about what happens, and we first of all ask that refugees from Croatia should not be settled here because the very demand for their settlement in Kosovo is a provocation, let alone what might happen in the course of daily life. As you know, the Serbian refugees from Albania who were settled here in Decan in 1990 created plenty of problems. We therefore ask that the settlement of Serbian refugees in Kosovo be prevented in order not to embitter the situation even further."

The report continues, "Asked whether, after Croatia, a conflict might be provoked in Kosovo, Rugova said that Kosovo has its territorial and political integrity and that our role in the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia was not that of a military movement. We have not achieved our objectives by violence. This is the great difference between us that the world appreciates highly, even more than we ourselves do. There can therefore be no fear of a possible conflict in Kosovo because of the well-known U.S. stand that no provocation of a conflict in Kosovo will be permitted.

"Asked whether the movement in Kosovo could assume a radical course following the events in Croatia, President Rugova replied that we will not allow the situation to become radicalized because any radicalization would be dangerous and catastrophic for everybody."

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